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Jammu and Kashmir: a select and annotated  
bibliography of manuscripts, books and  
articles together with a survey of its  
history, languages and literature from  
Rajatarangini to 1977/78.

by

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Thesis presented for the Degree of  
Master of Philosophy

School of Library Archive and Information Studies,  
University College, London.

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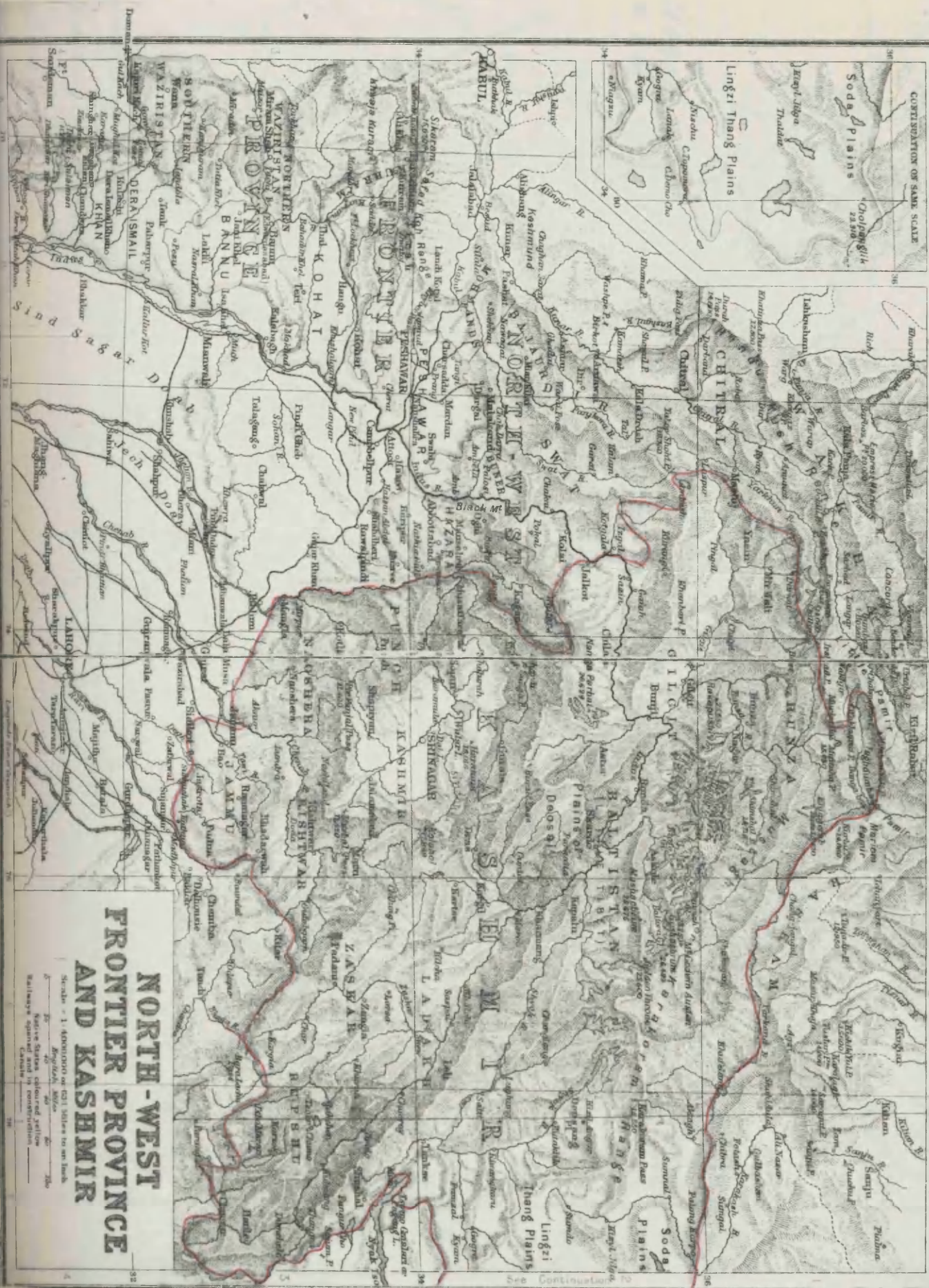
I am grateful to Mr. J.H.St.J.McIlwaine for the help, criticism and encouragement which he has always extended to me. By the interest which he has shown in my work and by his personal kindness and sympathy, he has made my work easy and pleasant.

I have further to acknowledge the friendly help and advice of Mr. R.Snell, Mr. D.Hall and Mr.W.Harris. My thanks are also due to my wife who has been very patient with me.

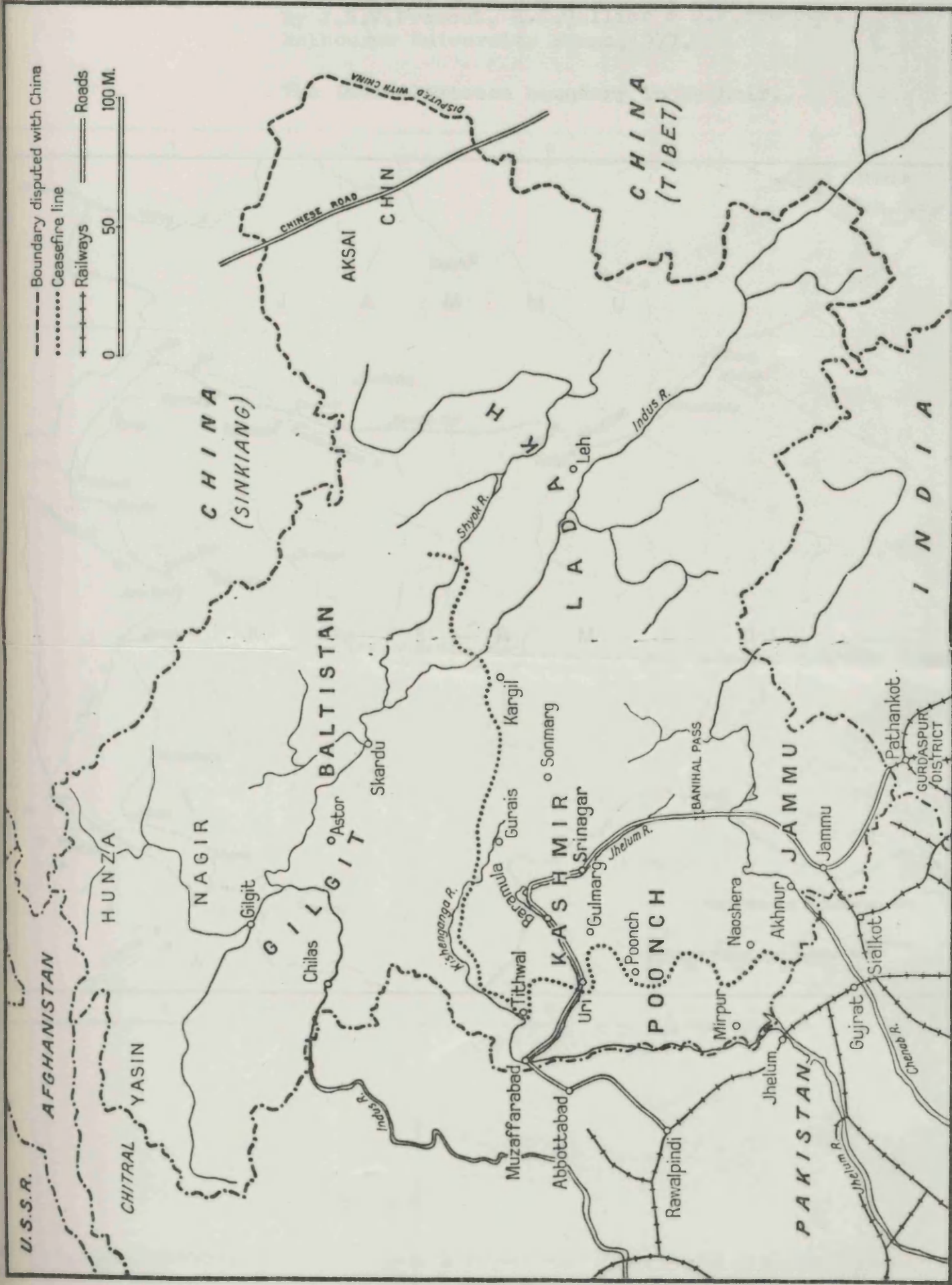
A list of maps

- i. Jammu and Kashmir and adjoining territories.  
(Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol.26. Oxford,1909).
- ii. Jammu and Kashmir: disputed boundaries with India  
and China.
- iii. Jammu and Kashmir: disputed boundaries with India.
- iv. Jammu and Kashmir: disputed boundaries with China.
- v. Jammu and Kashmir: language distribution.



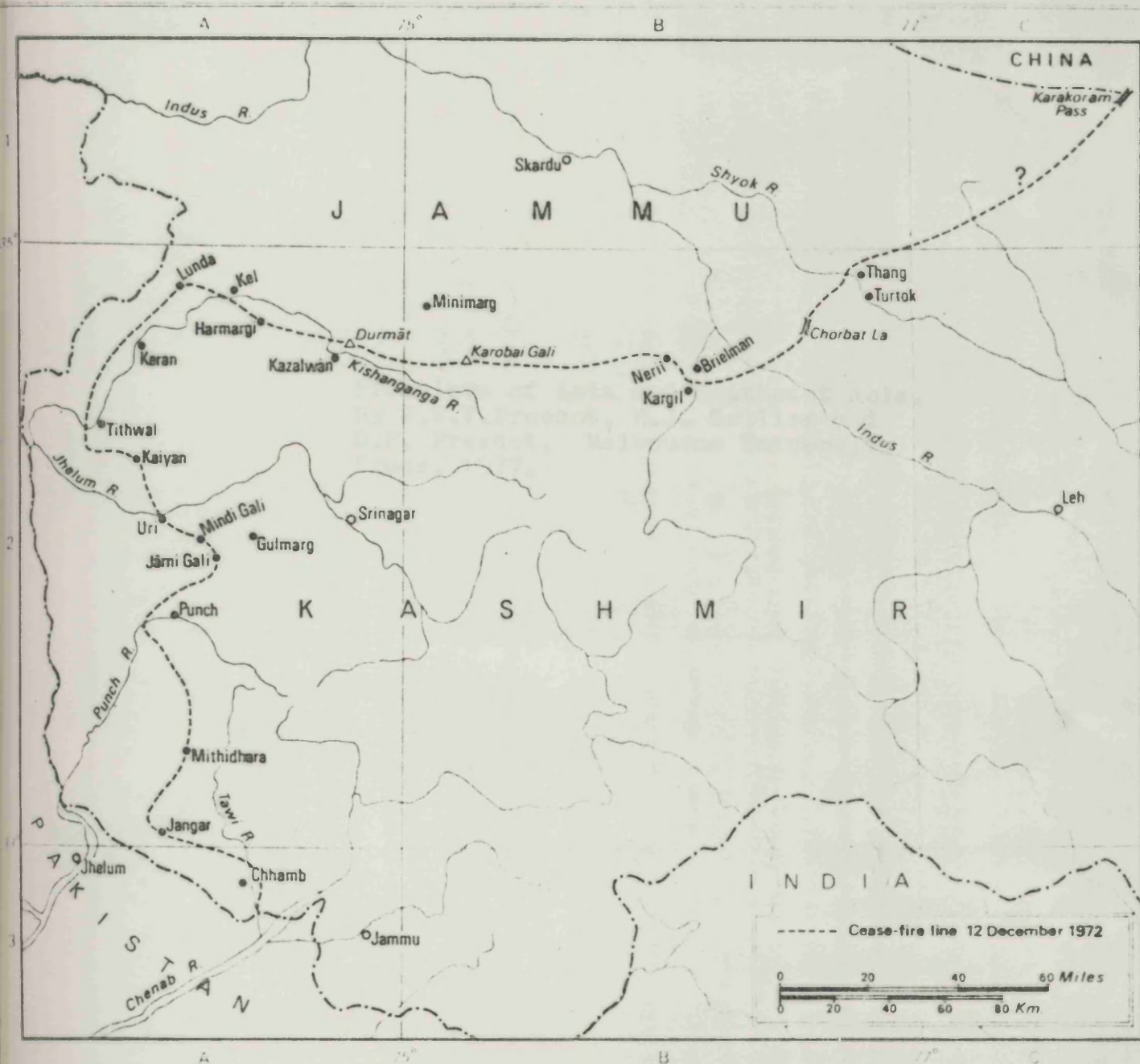






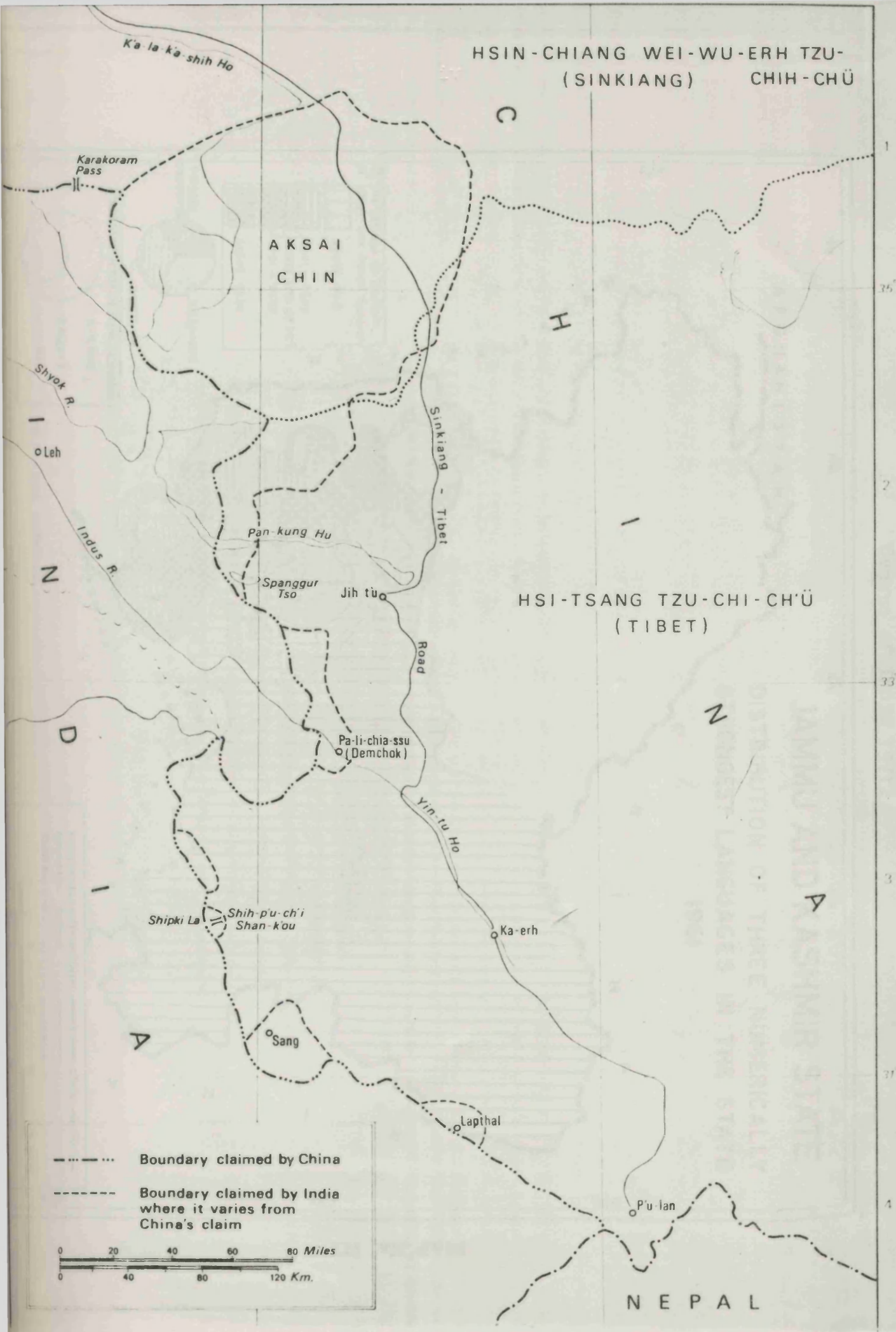
Frontiers of Asia and Southeast Asia.  
By J.R.V.Prescot, H.J.Collier & D.F.Prescot.  
Melbourne University Press, 1977.

The India-Pakistan boundary in Kashmir.



Frontiers of Asia and Southeast Asia.  
By J.R.V.Prescot, H.J. Collier and  
D.F. Prescott. Melbourne University  
Press, 1977.

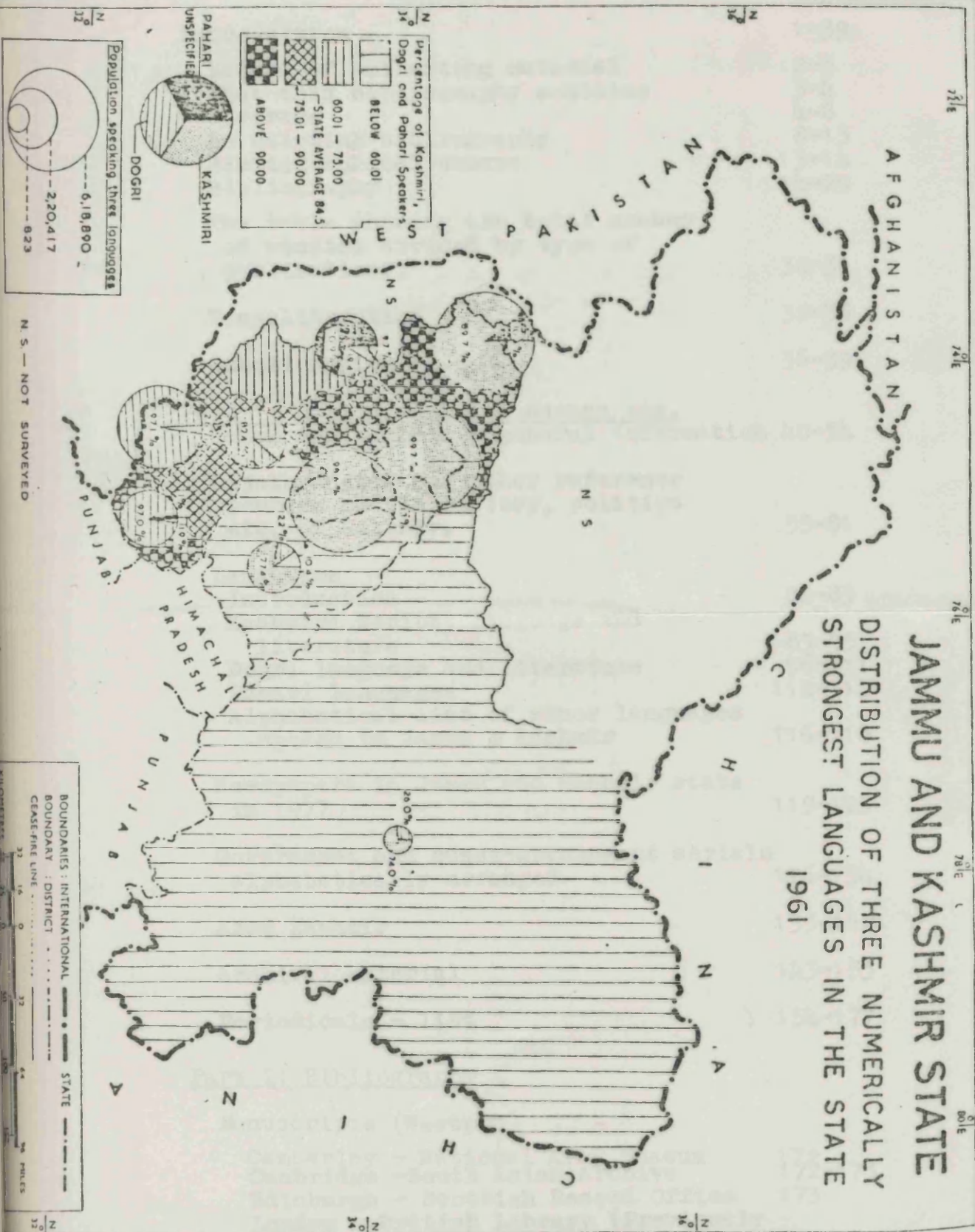




# JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

## DISTRIBUTION OF THREE NUMERICALLY STRONGEST LANGUAGES IN THE STATE

### 1961



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## Introduction

Before 1947 very few bibliographies were published in and about India, but since then a general awareness of the importance of bibliographies and indexing has become increasingly apparent. Because of the abundance of literature on the regions of India, the value of regional bibliographies is being recognised. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is distinct in its history, politics, languages, sociology etc., and all these are worth careful study. Most of the published material on the state is available in the Library of School of Oriental and African Studies, the India Office Library, the British Library, and some in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, Cambridge University and Oxford University. Most of the archival material and the Persian manuscripts are available in the India Office Library and the British Library.

When the present work started, there was no bibliography on this important area in world politics, and I was attracted to the task which the present work is intended to complete. It is an indicator of the nature of work carried out on Jammu and Kashmir from Kalhana's Rajatarangini to 1978.

All the bibliographies, journals and indexes published and available by 1978 have been checked; e.g. the Guide to Indian Periodical Literature was checked up to 1978.

## Method of collecting material

The work started by checking books and periodicals in the School of Oriental and African Studies Library. All the material available in the Library was catalogued and annotated, and a check-list was prepared from the bibliographies at the end of each book. After completing

the survey of the School of Oriental and African Studies Library material, the materials in the India Office and the British Libraries were surveyed and similar check-lists were prepared from bibliographies. As the check-list progressed, the various bibliographies, catalogues and indexes, mentioned in this work, were checked and wherever possible I tried to locate each item in the U.K. in order to verify the bibliographical details on my original check-list. By this process about 70 % of the material was examined physically and annotated. All items of which the titles were sufficiently precise and the contents self-evident were not annotated. Some unverified items were also included, as, although they were either not traceable in the U.K. or missing at the time of search, they were apparently significant enough to be included in this bibliography.

The bibliographies and indexes which proved most helpful in checking the material were the following:

Fürer-Haimendorf, Elizabeth von. An anthropological bibliography of South Asia ... 1958/59-1975.

Guide to Indian Periodical Literature. Gurgaon, 1964-1978.

India Office Library. Commonwealth Relations Office.

Catalogue of European printed books. Boston, 1964. 10 vols.

India Office Library. Commonwealth Relations Office.

Index to post-1937, European manuscripts accessions.

Boston, 1964.

The Indian National bibliography. Calcutta, 1957-1978.

Kesavan, B.S. The National bibliography of Indian literature, 1901-53. New Delhi, 1962-74. 4 vols.

Low, D.A. Government archives in South Asia ... .  
Cambridge, 1969.

Rieu, Charles. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts  
in the British Museum. London, 1879. 3 vols.

The School of Oriental and African Studies Library.  
University of London. Catalogue of the School of Oriental  
and African Studies. Boston, 1963. 28 vols. Subject  
catalogues on South Asia. Vols. 19.20; 1st. suppl. Vol.10,  
2nd. suppl. vol.11, 3rd suppl. vol.14.

Thatcher, Mary. Cambridge South Asian Archive.  
London, 1973.

U.S.A. Congress. Library. Accessions. List. India.  
New Delhi, 1963-1978.

U.S.A. Congress. Library. Accessions. List. Pakistan.  
Karachi, 1963- 1978.

Wainwright, M.D. A guide to Western manuscripts and  
documents in the British Isles relating to South and South  
East Asia. Comp. ... by M.D. Wainwright and N. Matthews. London, 1968

#### What this bibliography contains

The bibliography contains both published and unpublished  
material, such as manuscripts, books, chapters from books,  
articles from journals, doctoral dissertations and mimeographed  
publications. It is based on both original and secondary  
material available in the U.K. The important London  
libraries, namely the School of Oriental and African Studies  
Library, the India Office Library and the British Library,  
have among themselves almost all the material on Jammu and  
Kashmir available in the U.K. Some visits were paid to the  
Cambridge and Bodleian Libraries, but the  
material outside London was nominal and mostly duplicated



what was already available in London. This was also confirmed by the replies received from a questionnaire which I circulated in 1973. \*

Most of the periodical articles were first traced from indexes and bibliographies, and then checked with actual runs of periodicals, with a few exceptions e.g. "Kashmir", etc. If an article was recorded with complete bibliographical details but was not traceable as the periodical was not available or was missing, it was included in the bibliography. Thus a number of articles on Government, Politics and Administration etc. were taken from indexes and included without checking.

Most of the books were traced in London libraries and manuscripts from bibliographies.

The following material is omitted from the bibliography:

1. Articles of less than two pages' length.
2. From the original check-list about 150 items which were either not traceable or irrelevant to the bibliography, e.g. All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. Proceedings of the session 1951 etc.;; Aiyanger, K.V.R. Some aspects of ancient Indian polity.
3. Six manuscripts in the check list which were not available in the U.K., e.g. Abd al-Baqi. Ma'āthur-i-Rahīmī. Persian. 4 vols. Vol.1, on Kashmir. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal. 1025 AD.
4. Newspaper articles, unless they were published separately as monographs or were more than 2 pages in length.

#### Coverage

The geographical area to which this bibliography refers consists of Jammu and Kashmir including Baltistan, Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Jammu, Kishtwar, Ladakh, Poonch and

Azad Kashmir. Its subject-matter includes Western and Persian manuscripts on the history, politics etc. of the area; the religions and philosophy of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam; the languages and literatures; the architecture and sculpture of the area; its geography, archaeology and history; the government, politics and administration of India and Pakistan with reference to Kashmir, its internal politics and world opinion on the state; law and constitution; armed forces; sociology; economics; industry; foreign aid; folklore and geology.

The entries appear under "General" and "Specific" subject-headings. The headings and sub-headings were designed to suit the material and to obtain a general view of research trends from time to time e.g. "Government, Politics & Administration" was divided and sub-divided according to subjects, and, within these, arranged chronologically. Some collective subject-headings, also, were created for the convenience of researchers, e.g. that of "Sociology and anthropology", arranged alphabetically within areas. Another example is that of "Religion and Philosophy", filed alphabetically.

All the entries are in Western languages, except for Persian manuscripts, some Indic language works dealing with religion, philosophy, linguistics or literature, and a few on geography and history. Here are some representative examples of the various categories of entries:

#### Books

Sharma, Lakshmi Nidhi. Kashmir Saivism. Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1972. pp.ix,iv,373.

### Articles from journals

Beside author and title, each entry has the name of the journal, the volume and part numbers (if any), the date and pagination.

Bakaya, N.L. Wanderings in the happy valley. Kashmir Today. Vol.2(6), July-Aug. 1957. pp.21-24.

### Theses

Sudarshan Kumar. Social conditions in ancient Kashmir ... . Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of London, 1969. pp.ix,514, plates, tables, maps, bibliog. (Typescript).

### Manuscripts (English)

Entries are filed alphanetically under the place and the library. The entry indicates author, title, place, and location-number.

Cambridge - South Asian Archive .

Blackwood, G.F. Blackwood papers ... . 1870. Box 11.

### Manuscripts (Persian)

These are arranged alphanetically by author. Each entry mentions the library where it is available, and the location-mark.

Nārāyan Kaul, Ajiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. History of Kashmir ... . A.D. 1715. Ff.125. British Library. Add.11,631.

### Publications in Indic languages

Raiṇā, Kṛṣṇa. Hindī aura Kaśmīrī nirguna santa kāvyā. A comparative study of the Nirguna school in Hindi and Kashmiri poetry. Hindi text. New Delhi, Sharda Prakashan, 1977. pp.336, illus, bibliog.

It will be observed that the annotation of a publication in a non-European language is different from that of a Western language publication. This is because I have followed the SOAS practice, which is based on that of the British Library. There the usual order for cataloguing a non-European language has always been: author, title, brief statement of the subject of the book, followed by the place of publication, publisher's name, date of publication and pagination.

#### Books in more than one edition

When a book exists in more than one edition, at least both the first and latest editions have been recorded, intermediate editions being also recorded wherever possible.

#### Periodicals.

There is a list of all periodicals from which items have been cited, 394 in total. Where a periodical has changed its title, the periods and volumes covered by the periodical under its various names are mentioned, e.g. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.1-73, 1832-1904. Continues as Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.1-30, 1905-34. Continues as Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.1-17, 1935-51. Continues as Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Vol.18-24, 1952-58. Continues as Journal of the Asiatic Society. Vol.1- , 1959- .

Most of the periodical material indexed in this bibliography is from the English language periodicals. The indexing of scholarly Indic language periodicals would best be done in India and Pakistan, as it will require the efforts of many linguists; and such a project would be

of great service to scholars working on Jammu and Kashmir.

An Existing bibliography

Warikoo, Kulbhushan. Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh: a classified and comprehensive bibliography, New Delhi, Sterling, 1976.

This bibliography has 23 main subject-headings, viz. General works and travelogues, Library service - Journalism and Press, Engineering, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Agriculture, Animal husbandry, Medicine and Public Health, Useful arts, Mysticism and mystics, Fine arts, Literature, Linguistics, Religion, Education, Geography, History, Politics and government, Kashmir question, Economics, Sociology and Law.

Each of these headings is further sub-divided, and within sub-divisions the entries are arranged alphabetically. The work has author and subject index and a very brief preface. All the entries are numbered. It also gives a list of the sources of information and abbreviations used for periodicals.

This was the first bibliography on its subject, but it is not, despite the author's claim, a comprehensive one. The bibliography contains 555 pages and 7,684 entries. These figures are very impressive, but after investigation one finds that they are deceptive in terms of the value of the material to its users. To indicate the general standard maintained by Warikoo, it is necessary to point out that it contains many inconsistencies, mistakes and omissions.

### Inconsistencies

There is no consistency in the citation of collation. Sometimes pagination is missing; sometimes the date of publication, or the publisher's name and sometimes both. Almost all the newspaper articles cited are given no pagination. Under the headings of "Government, Politics and Administration" and "History" these inconsistencies are far too many: there is hardly a page where you do not find them.

It is confusing also when the same author is cited as both Kak, Ram Chandra, and Kak, R.C.; Kaul, Gwasha Lal, and Kaul, G.L. And Aziz Roshni (item 1940) and Kashmiri, Aziz (item 1752) turn out to be the same person.

### The nature of articles

Warikoo includes thousands of articles, but these usually, though not always, range from a few lines to, at most, half a page or so. To illustrate the point, under the heading of Government, Politics and Administration of 1145 items listed 775 are articles ranging from a few lines to half a page. Two reservations must be made about such listings. Firstly such newspaper articles have only a contemporary value, as the information which they contain is superseded by fresh information or published more conveniently in the form of periodical articles. Secondly some newspapers have their own indexes available to researchers.

### Mistakes and omissions

Item 837 (T.Hardwicke. Plants collected between Hardwar and Srinagar. Asiatic Researches. Vol.6, 1799. pp.348) has a

wrong title and pagination. It should be Narrative of a journey to Srinagar, pp.309-81. Narration of the journey from pages 309-48, and enumeration of plants noticed between Hurdwar and Srinagar in the month of April and May 1796 (pages 348-81). Items 1802 and 1805 mention the same periodical number and pagination with two different titles; this seems to be a mistake.

Some serial titles keep changing, but Warikoo does not indicate at which volume number a change of title first occurs. Some abbreviations of serials, e.g. NH (item 252), are not mentioned in the list of abbreviations, so that it is not known which periodical they represent. In his list of periodicals Warikoo usually indicates the name of the country, and not the place, where it is published, e.g. Century, India, Weekly; Foreign Affairs Record, India. Also omitted are dates of first publication.

Under the heading "Sociology" most of the Western publications are missing. Most of the reference sources included in my bibliography are omitted by Warikoo. The following is a list of a few important publications missing from Warikoo's bibliography.

Bawa Satinder Singh. The Jammu fox. A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792-1857. London, 1974.

Brar, Bharpur Singh. Social change and marriage customs of North-Western Himalayas. Ph.D, University of London, 1972.

Friedl, Erika. Trager medialer Begabung in Hindukusch und Karakorum. Wien, 1966.

Jammu and Kashmir. Forest Department. Forest Law Manual. Srinagar, 1966. 2 vols.

Jammu and Kashmir. Laws and Statutes. Jammu and Kashmir laws assented by His Highness ... 1941. 3 vols.

Ksemendra. Deśopadeśa and Narmālā. Two satires on social figures, pests and parasites of various professions of author's times. Edited with an introduction by Madhusudan Kaul Sāstrī. Srinagar, 1923.

Madhvi Yasin. Sources of the history of Kashmir, 10th to 12th century. Quarterly Review of Historical Studies. Vol.9(1), 1969-70. pp.33-40.

Mayeda, N. Tavi tales from Jammu, New Haven, 1974.

Mohammad Ibrahim, M. Manuscript source material of Kashmir history of the Mughal period in the Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government. Quarterly Review of Historical Studies. Vol.9(1), 1969-70. pp.23-25.

Naidou, J. Les Bouddhistes Kaśmīriens au moyen age. Paris, 1968.

Oitt, Janet. Study of house-building and folklore research carried out in Chitral. London, 1963.

Panjab Government Laws. Rules for the guidance of travellers visiting Jammu and Kashmir. Lahore, 1880.

Phandis, Urmila. Documents on Asian affairs: select bibliography. New Delhi, 1959.

Pushp, P.N. Books in Kashmiri. A bibliography of Kashmiri books. Indian Literature. Vol.3(2), 1960. pp.126-40.

Sudarshan Kumar. Social conditions in ancient Kashmir. Ph.D. University of London, 1969.



The most serious defect in this bibliography is that it has not tapped the British sources. It may be good about present politics, but it is completely useless on the British period. It does not include the following source material:

No history of Jammu and Kashmir can be complete without the Persian manuscripts which are available mostly in the India Office and the British Library.

English manuscripts available in Britain throw light on the history, politics, economics, etc. of Kashmir.

For the history, politics, administration etc. of Jammu and Kashmir the archival material, for example, the Kashmir Residency records are most important. These records are available in the India Office Library, covering the period c.1869-1947, and originally belonged to the offices of Residents and Agents responsible for British relations with Indian states.

Any student of the economic, cultural and social history of Kashmir during the British period needs to refer to the Assessment/Settlement reports of the state. These reports are the source material on the agriculture, economic conditions, labour, transport, communications, industry, social institutions of that time, and no study can be complete without them.

On examination it is found that Warikoo limits his bibliography mostly to modern, secondary material. It is, of course, illogical to limit a bibliography in this way, since most of the valuable source material is only occasionally published in periodicals and newspapers.

Thus his entries on economics, history, etc. have only a limited value, and may mislead the user more often than help him.

Quite a few books published in the West are also omitted. Warikoo finishes his work in 1974. He has not consulted any of the bibliographies which were so helpful to me in checking my check-list except Guide to the Indian Periodical Literature, and the National bibliography of Indian literature by B.S. Kesvan. He also does not include books on literature.

The present bibliography is divided into two parts, i.e. bibliographical essays and bibliography.

#### Bibliographical essays

The following bibliographical essays were written to indicate the nature and importance of the various materials dealt with.

Jammu and Kashmir - general information. This introduces the state, its location and topography, area, population, climate, transport and communications, minerals, agriculture, industry, education and health, tourism, people, races and tribes.

Rajatarangini and other sources for the history, etc. of Kashmir. A detailed essay on Rajatarangini explains its importance for the study of the history of ancient Kashmir. It is a critical study of the literature on the history of Hindu Kings and Muslim rulers, which is well covered by Kalhana's Rajatarangini and other chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Prajabhatta who brought the narration up to the Mughal conquest in 1586. Semi-historical

works, pre-Mughal sources, Mughal histories, other Persian histories, Chinese records and the records of the European travellers are discussed in detail.

Languages and literature. This is a general survey of the languages and literature in the Kashmiri, Dogri, and Pahari languages, and also gives an alphabetical list of minor languages spoken in Jammu and Kashmir. Although Urdu is the official language of Jammu and Kashmir, the number of mother tongue speakers according to the 1961 Census was .03%, and therefore a detailed survey of Urdu language and literature is not included, although some material on it is included in the bibliographical section.

A list of newspapers is alphabetically arranged according to languages; and another list of government and quasi-government serials is also alphabetically arranged.

Azad Kashmir. This territory is under the occupation of Pakistan and very little material is available concerning it except for a few government publications and a page or so in some books. This essay is intended to serve as an introduction to its territory, population, administration, forestry, economy, agriculture, industry, education and health.

Archival material. This gives an outline of the material available in Britain mainly.

All the books cited in the bibliographical essays are included in the main Bibliography.

### Bibliography

Manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts in English consist of private papers of persons who held high office under the British Government in India. They include,

diaries, notebooks, journals and other miscellany. They mostly cover history, geography, politics, agriculture, zoology, linguistics etc. I have divided them under two headings, viz. "Specific" and "General". The "Specific" consist of those directly related to Jammu and Kashmir, and the "General" consist of those having only some material on Kashmir. They are arranged alphabetically according to the city and library in which they are held, with location marks. There are 41 "Specific" and 33 "General" collections of manuscripts. The earliest manuscript available is in the British Library, i.e. "Description of physical features, productions, houses, inhabitants, music, boats, religion etc. (of Kashmir). 17th century. D.12-12a. B.M.Harl.Ms.4254".

Persian manuscripts are arranged alphabetically by author. They cover Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Dogra history. Persian histories fill in gaps left by Sanskrit chronicles. They are the prime source for the history of the Muslim period. I have recorded the name of the library in which each is available, with location-mark. There are 41 Persian and 1 Urdu manuscript listed. The earliest Persian manuscript is "Bahāristān-i Shāhī ... . A Persian history of Kashmir based on Rajatarangini. A.D.1614. Ff.221,11,16. India Office Library No.943.

#### Bibliographies/Catalogues and reference books.

Most of these are in English. There are 90 bibliographies and catalogues, arranged alphabetically by author. Most were published in the 1960s and 1970s; however, the earliest publication is "George Buhler. A note from Dr. Buhler's report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir ... . Indian Antiquary. Vol.6.

September 1877. pp.264-74.

The Reference works include year books, almanacs, biographical dictionaries, directories etc. There are 18 items listed, and the earliest is "Paṃcāṅga prakāśa. A Kashmiri astrological almanac for A.D.1914. Compiled by Mukunda Rāma. Lahore, Mukand Ram Ranvir, 1914. pp.48".

Religion and philosophy. This covers general works on Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. A notable feature of this chapter is that it includes many tracts in Kashmiri on Islam. Most of these tracts were traced in the British Library. Many of the books on Hinduism throw light on religious sociology and on legends of the sacred places. The collection here reflects the influence of Islam on Hinduism and vice-versa.

In the past the study of mysticism made great progress in Persia, and assumed the character of a sect. Mysticism was perhaps influenced by Hindu and Buddhist religions. Many of the books noted here throw light on mysticism. There are 128 items, arranged alphabetically under the sub-headings of General, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Mysticism. The earliest publication cited is: "Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated from the originals into the Kashmeera language by the Serampore missionaries. Sharda script. Serampore, 1821. pp.964".

Languages and Linguistics. India is a polyglot country. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir a variety of languages are spoken, belonging to at least two different language families, i.e. ~~Indo-Aryan~~ and Indo-Chinese (Bashgali, Bhadrwahi, Burushaski, Chitrali, Dogri, Kashmiri, Pashai,

Shina, Ladakh, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu etc.), as discussed more fully in the appropriate bibliographic essay.

There are 94 publications listed, arranged under the headings, General, Phonology, Writing, Dictionaries and Grammar. Each of these is further sub-divided alphabetically by language. The earliest publication cited is by "Major Robert C.B. Leach. A Grammar of the Cashmeeree language. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.13, 1844. pp.397-420."

Literature. From ancient times Kashmir has been a home of Sanskrit learning, and later became also a centre of the Persian language. Most of the works listed were written after 1947. It is impracticable to cover everything published on literature, as most of it is not available to researchers in the U.K., and therefore only important material available is included.

There are 207 items, arranged alphabetically under the headings, General, Dogri, Kashmiri, Persian, Sanskrit, and Urdu. Each of these is further sub-divided under Poetry, Drama, Fiction and Essays. The earliest is of "Ghāmi Shāh. Wamiq 'azrā. A love tale in Kashmiri verse. Amritsar, 1887. pp.80".

Arts and Crafts. The cultivation of fine arts by the people of Kashmir has an ancient background. There are several references to dance, drama, and music in the Rajatarangini. It was, however, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. that these arts attained their full vigour. Unfortunately, the history of Kashmir after the 11th century A.D. is one of civil wars, invasions, etc.

No wonder that traditions in music and dance vanished, and that what is left is only a poor remnant of their glory. Kashmiris had a deep love for paintings, and this shows in their crafts. Damodargupta in his work Kuttanimata-kavya mentions that painting was one of the subjects which ladies of Kashmir had to learn and cultivate in their youth.

This section includes work on arts and crafts, music, sports etc. Most of the material was written after 1950, except that on sport, most of which dates from the British period. There are 61 items, arranged alphabetically under the headings Kashmir, Ladakh, Music, and Sports. The earliest publication is by "T.G. Montgomerie. Memorandum on the Nanga Parbat and other snowy mountains of the Himalaya range adjacent to Kashmir. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.26,1857. pp.266-74."

Fine arts etc. The architecture of Kashmir is impressive, both in its grandeur and in its variety. Yet this rich architectural heritage has not received much attention. This section forms a study of the varied art and architecture of Kashmir which will be of interest to every one. All the scholarly works on various aspects of this subject are included, and the present material should serve as a source to all types of readers. There are 36 publications listed, arranged alphabetically under the headings, Architecture, Sculpture, Jewellery, Painting and Calligraphy. The earliest publication is of "H.H.Godwin Austen. On the system employed in outlining

the figures of deities and other religious drawings, as practised in the Ladakh, Zanskar etc. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.33,1864. pp.151-54".

Geography. This section includes Gazetteers, Maps and atlases, Surveys and routes, arranged alphabetically under these headings. Most of these were published during the British period. Some maps and atlases have also been published since 1947. There are 30 publications listed, and the earliest is of "Ahmad Shah Naqshbandi. Route from Kashmir via Ladakh to Yarkand. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol.12, 1850. pp.372-85".

Geography and travel. There is a lot of repetition of the information in these publications. In the nineteenth century travelling was a great pastime of Europeans, and travellers like Frederic Drew, Hugel and Moorcroft have written large-scale works on the peoples and topography of Kashmir. Most of the 19th century works were written by Europeans, and most of those written after 1947 by Indians. Next come guide books and tourist guides on Kashmir or its various parts. This section includes 270 publications, arranged alphabetically under the headings General, 19th century, 1900-47, 1947- , and subdivided within these headings by geographical areas. The earliest publication in this section is by "Victor Jacquemont. Letters from India: describing a journey in the British dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and Cashmere, during the years 1828,1829,1830 and 1831 ... . London, 1834. 2 vols." This is an English translation of letters



originally written in French.

Archaeology, Inscriptions and Numismatics. Most of the information on these subjects is from the British period. It includes archaeological reports on Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh etc. The inscriptions, again mostly recorded during the British period, are of socio-political and historical interest. The sub-section "Numismatics", contains articles on ancient, medieval and modern coins. This section includes 65 publications, arranged alphabetically under the headings, Archaeology, Inscriptions and Numismatics, and further sub-divided by geographical areas. The earliest publication included here is of "Alexander Cunningham. Ancient coins of Kashmir ... . 1843. pp.38."

History. This is the second largest section. Most of the material is in English, with a few works in Indic languages. It is further divided into General, Ancient, Muslim, British.

The ancient period is covered by Kalhana's Rajatarangini and his successors, and a fuller description of this is given in the Bibliographical Essay, "Rajatarangini and other historical sources ... ."

The section on the Muslim period from 1339-1819 is dominated by the English translations of Persian histories.

The section on the British period 1819-1947, includes material relating to Sikh and Dogra rule. It includes Parliamentary papers, political diaries and other private papers which have been edited and published.

The section on the period after 1947 includes some background material to the partition of India and

description of the situation during the partition. This is followed by the Lahore Treaty and other treaties, which refer to the agreements concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar (1846), and between the British Government and Gulab Singh in 1846. It follows the histories of Baltistan, Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Jammu, Kishtwar, Ladakh, Poonch and Srinagar etc.

For the understanding and writing of the history of the area, this section should form adequate source material. The earliest publication is "Panjab. Political diaries of Lieut. Reynell G. Taylor, Mr. P. Sandys Nelvill, Pandit Kunahya Lal, Mr. P. A. Vans etc. Allahabad, 1815. 8 vols. Vol. 6 on Panjab, NWFP and Kashmir."

Government, Politics and Administration. This is the largest section and indicates the importance of Jammu and Kashmir in the context of India, Pakistan and the whole world, because of its geographical situation. Pakistan always claims Kashmir as a logical consequence of the partition of India. The Indian Government insists that the Kashmir question should be looked at from the point of view of the inhabitants of the whole subcontinent of India, and not from the point of view of the Pakistanis alone. Since the Tashkent declaration of 1965 the world has started thinking more in terms of Kashmir as a territorial dispute rather than a Hindu-Muslim conflict. The separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan has confirmed this idea.

Many books and articles have published on the subject. Newspaper articles merely give the same information, with a few exceptions, and therefore it was

decided not to include material from newspapers unless it was more than a few pages in length. Periodical articles were included if they were not less than two pages in length.

The material is arranged chronologically, to give a view of the political development of the area. Within the chronological order it is arranged under the most useful subject headings. Although this section is dominated by publication in English, a few Indic language publications are also included. There are 698 publications included in this section.

Education. Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in India where education is free from primary to post-graduate level. The material listed relates to missionary education, educational reform commissions, education in ancient Kashmir, the development of education etc. This section includes 18 publications, arranged alphabetically by author. The earliest is of "Dayā Rām, Ganju, called Kashmīrī. On the education of Kashmiri Muslims. Jammu, 1925. pp.8."

Law and Constitution. This section brings together all the acts, extant rules and orders regarding people, elections, land, forests etc. It contains material on the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir and on the constitutional relations of Kashmir with India. There are 31 items arranged alphabetically, and the earliest publication is "Panjab. Government. Rules for the guidance of travellers visiting Jummoo and Kashmir. Lahore, 1880. pp.7. "

Armed forces. This includes the material on the history of the Dogra regiment and its military traditions

etc. It contains 4 publications, arranged alphabetically. The earliest is "India. Foreign Department. The Kashmir army by Major J.Biddulph. Calcutta, 1880. pp.11."

Sociology. The sociology of India is a comparatively new area of study, and much of the material has been published since 1947. The material falls under various branches of sociology, but to make it more helpful it has been classed here only as Sociology and sub-divided alphabetically by geographical areas. All the material is in English, as nothing of value has been traced in Indic languages. There are 80 entries, and the earliest is of "Sir George Campbell. The ethnology of India. Appendix C. Cashmeree, etc. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.35, 1866. pp.1-152." This follows a list of 75 population censuses from 1855 to 1971, arranged chronologically.

Economics. This section covers economics and economic history from the British period to the present day. It is dominated by the Assessment and Settlement reports of the British period, which form a complete record of the economic history of the state. A list of important subjects appearing in these reports includes: Agriculture (crops, output, practices, stock, yield), Alienation, Assessment rates, Assets, Famines, Forests, Grain rents, Grazing, Holdings, Indebtedness, Irrigation, Land (leases, mortgages, owners, revenue, sales, utilization), Markets, Prices, Rainfall, Rent, Revenue (arrears, procedure), Revenue demand(policy, system), Roads, Settlement (operations, procedure, proposals), Surveys, Tenures, Wells.

It must be mentioned here that these reports contain detailed information on almost every economic aspect of the regions where they were introduced. While dealing with the subject of land revenue, such topics as aboriginal tribes, castes, coinage, currency, customs, forced labour, handicrafts, income tax, jail, liquor, minerals, slaves, social life, trade, travels, weights and measures etc. are also covered.

A Settlement report involves (a) exact determination of the amount of government claim or land revenue due from an area and the person liable to pay that claim and, (b) the compilation of the record of rights; whereas an Assessment report does not include category (b).

There are 110 publications, arranged alphabetically under Economics, Economic cooperation, Economic development and Economic finance. These are further sub-divided by geographical areas. The earliest report is of "A.Wingate. Preliminary report of Settlement operations in Kashmir and Jammu, 1887."

Industry. Kashmir is famous for its handicrafts and cottage industry. The prospects of industrial development for the prosperity of the people are not very healthy. Before 1947, apart from cottage industries, the only industry to which attention was paid was that of sericulture. Other industrial developments have taken place since 1947, but, as is evident from available material, these too are facing difficulties.

As mentioned under the heading "Botany", Kashmiri people attribute medicinal properties to most of the plants and

trees of Kashmir, and there is some material here on medicinal plants used in the drug industry of Kashmir. It follows material on famines, foreign trade, communications and transport. Communication and transport facilities were bad before 1947, but there has been some improvement by the extension of railways to Jammu and the improvement of aviation and roads.

There are 61 entries, arranged alphabetically under Industry, Famines, Foreign trade, Communication and transport. The earliest publication included here is "Great Britain. Parliament. Trade routes, cotton piece goods, fairs, inland transit duties, London, HMSO, 1864. pp.37." This includes statistics of Kashmir imports and exports and duties on imports from British territory.

Folklore. Jammu and Kashmir is rich in its folk literature. Many interesting works were published during the British period, including the extensive researches of J.H. Knowles. But most of the works listed here belong to the post-1947 era. Most of the material is in English, except for a few items in the Devanagari and Persian scripts. The folklore of an area is influenced by its natural environment, which gives it many distinguishing features, and this is noticeably true in Kashmir, which is a land of geographic contrast. The religions, beliefs and traditions of its people also are reflected in its folklore. There are 97 publications listed, under the headings Folk literature and tales, Folk dances and music, manners-customs-festivals, Provers and Riddles. The section is further sub-divided by geographical areas, then filed alphabetically by author. The earliest publication

included here is of "G.W.V. Leitner. Manners and customs of the Dards: amusements, beverages, birth ceremonies, funerals, Indian Antiquary, Vol.1, 1872. pp.7-14."

Botany. In this section material on many plants and trees has been noted. The inhabitants of the valley utilize nearly every plant and tree in some way, attributing medicinal properties to most of them. Much research was done during the British period. There are 53 publications, arranged alphabetically under geographical areas. The earliest publication is of "Captain Thomas Hardwicke. Narrative of a journey to Srinagar. Asiatic Researches, Vol.6, 1799. pp.309-81."

Zoology. A large variety of animals live in the state and during the British period this was a great attraction to sportsmen, who wrote a number of books on the subject. There are 67 publications, alphabetically arranged under geographical areas. The earliest publication included here is of "W.E. Brooks. Notes on the ornithology of Cashmir. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.41(2), 1872. pp.73-86."

Geology. Although there have not been many organized explorations in Kashmir, the chances of discovery of a valuable mineral are not very high. A lot of work was done during the British period, and the geological facts of the Kashmir valley have been recorded by Richard Lydekker, The geology of Kashmir and Chamba territories, 1882-83. Lydekker's treatise represents the labour of seven long years spent in Kashmir and the neighbouring regions. He also mentioned the impressions of other geologists who visited the

valley. Among the Indians D.N. Wadia has done a lot of work on the geology of Kashmir. There are 85 entries, arranged under the headings of Geology, Earthquakes, Petroleum and Coal. These are further sub-divided by geographical areas and filed alphabetically by author. The earliest publication included here is of "T. Davidson. Geological notes on the part of the North-Western Himalaya ... . Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society. Vol.20(1), 1864. pp.383-388.

Paleontology. There are 25 publications arranged alphabetically by the geographical areas. The earliest publication included here is of "C. Diener. Anthracolithic fossils of Kashmir and Spiti. Paleontologia Indica. Vol.1(2), 1890. pp.1-95."

Palaeobotany. There are 30 publications arranged alphabetically. Most of the work recorded in this section has been done by G.S. Puri. The earliest publication is of "A.C. Seward. Lower Gondwana plants from Golabgarh pass, Kashmir. Paleontologia Indica. Vol.4(3), 1912. pp.1-10.

Technology. In the field of technology, medicine, engineering etc., the state has not made much progress, and limited material is available on the subject. There are 9 publications alphabetically arranged under the headings Medicine and Engineering. The earliest publication included here is of "Daya Rām Ganjū, called Miskīn. Hidāyat hifz-i sihat yani bachon ki parvarash ki hidāyat. Kashmiri verse on rules for preserving children's health. Kashmiri text in Persian script. Jammu, 1925. pp.4."



Agriculture. The state has the most fertile land. Most of the people are dependent on agriculture for their living. Agricultural operations in Kashmir are carefully timed, so as to fall within a certain period before or after the commencement of autumn. Most of the material listed here is in the form of articles. As long as the people are dependent wholly on agriculture, progress towards a better standard of living will be very slow. The rural population can provide an enormous amount of cheap labour, but there is no money available to increase wages or to improve either efficiency or living conditions. This section includes 29 publications arranged under the headings of Agriculture, Land reforms, Economic aspects of agriculture and irrigation. The earliest publication included here is of "M.R. Fotidar. Agriculture in Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir Information, Vol.1(4), Sept.-Oct.1944. pp.24-26. Assessment reports under the heading "Economics" are very useful for providing information on Agriculture during the period.

Forest and Forestry. There are 17 publications arranged alphabetically under the geographical areas. The earliest publication included here is "Forestry in Kashmir. A review of a report for 1880-89 by Diwan Amar Nath. The Indian Forester, Vol.17, 1891. pp.344-48."

Horticulture. Kashmir is a fruit-producing region, and perhaps no other region has great facilities for horticulture, as the indigenous apple, pear, vine, mulberry, walnut, hazel, cherry, apricot, peach, raspberry, gooseberry, currant, and strawberry can be obtained without difficulty

in most parts of the valley. There are 6 items, alphabetically arranged, and the earliest publication included here is "Floating gardens of Kashmir. The Indian Forester. Vol.15, 1889. pp.366-68."

Animal Husbandry. Sheep breeding is of great importance to the villagers. They supply wool which is in great demand, by the woollen industry. Poultry farming, and bee-keeping for honey are also popular and works on these subjects are included in this section. There are 9 entries, arranged alphabetically. The earliest publication included here is of "R.C.Haskar. Kashmir sheep breeding scheme ... . Jammu, 1942. pp.21".

The following table shows the total number of listed studies of the various subjects divided by type of publication.

<u>Manuscripts</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Books</u>	<u>Articles</u>
English	74		
Persian	41		
Urdu			
Bibliographies, Catalogues and Indexes	90	67	23
Reference works	18	17	1
Religion and Philosophy	129	101	28
Language and Linguistics	94	51	43
Literature	207	161	46
Art and Crafts	61	30	31
Fine Arts	36	8	28
Geography	30	19	11
Geography and Travel	270	185	85
Archaeology etc.	65	16	49
History	259	182	77
Government, Politics and Administration	698	268	430
Education	18	10	8
Laws and Constitution	31	23	8
Armed forces	4	4	-
Sociology	155	121	34
Economics	110	76	34
Industry	61	33	28
Folklore	97	35	62
Geology	85	9	76
Paleontology	25	1	24

Paleobotany	30	2	28
Botany	53	3	50
Zoology	67	2	65
Technology	9	3	6
Agriculture	29	2	27
Forest and Forestry	17	8	9
Horticulture	6	-	6
Animal Husbandry	9	-	9
Total	2878	1437	1326

The mostly highly researched areas according to these tables are Government, Politics and Administration, Geography and Travel, Literature, History and Sociology. Most of the studies on Government, Politics and Administration were written in the 1960s and 1970s, and this is also true for literature.

### Transliteration

Strictly speaking transliteration means letter-by-letter transcription from one alphabet into another, and some libraries and scholars favour this as they are concerned with reversibility - that is, reconstruction of the original - for the sake of identification. Other research scholars and libraries favour phonetic transcription and do not believe in the necessity of reversibility in transliteration. In my opinion transliteration should follow the letter-by-letter pattern, yet with some consideration to the phonetic value of the letters concerned.

It is not possible to find unanimity on such a topic, and there will be a choice of the consistent system which is more useful. Whatever the choice may be, objections will inevitably be raised, but it would be impossible to satisfy everyone in a task of this nature. A transliteration system should be consistent and helpful to readers in locating the entries they require. The following transliterations are used in this bibliography for the Persian and Devanagari scripts. The Persian transliteration is the same as that of the School of Oriental and African Studies Library and close to that of the Library of Congress. The Devanagari transliteration is the same as that of the School of Oriental and African Studies Library and the Indian National Bibliography. There is a slight difference between the Library of Congress and the Indian National Bibliography in transliterating Devanagari script, e.g. in the Library of Congress Anusvāra is transliterated by

ñ before gutturals  
 ñ before palatals  
 ŋ before cerebrals  
 n before dentals  
 m before labials

and in the Indian National Bibliography Anusvāra (°)  
 is transliterated always as ṁ. For the Persian script the  
 Indian National Bibliography uses the Arabic transliteration  
 system, whereas the Library of Congress uses a transliteration  
 system specifically for Persian.

<u>Urdu Letter</u>	<u>English Letter</u>	<u>Devanagari Letter</u>	<u>English Letter</u>
ا	a	क	k
ب	b	ख	kha
پ	p	ग	ga
ت	t	घ	gha
ٹ	t̤	ङ	ṅa
ث	s	च	ca
ج	j	छ	cha
چ	ch	ज	ja
ح	h	झ	jha
خ	kh	ञ	ñ
د	d	ट	ṭ
ڈ	ḍ	ठ	ṭha
ذ	z	ड	ḍa
ड	r	ड	r̤
ڑ	r̤	ढ	ḍha
ز	z	ढ़	ṛha
ژ	zh	ण	ṇa
س	s	त	ta
ش	sh	थ	tha
ص	s̤	द	da
ض	z̤	ध	dha
ط	t̤	न	na
ظ	z̤	प	pa
ع	'	फ	pha
غ	gh	ब	ba
ف	f	भ	bha
ق	q	म	ma
ک	k	य	ya
گ	g	र	ra

l	ल	la
m	व	va
n	श	śa
ṇ	ष	ṣa
w	स	sa
h	ह	ha
ī	•Anusvāra	ṁ
y		

Vowels and diphthongs

<u>Vowels and signs</u>		अ	a
		आ	ā
ā	ā	इ	i
a	a	ई	ī
i	i	उ	u
u	u	ऊ	ū
Hamzāh	Hamzāh	ऋ	r̥
Double consonant	Double consonant	ॠ	r̄
		ए	l̥
		अ	ē
		र	e
		अँ	ē
		अँ	āi
		रँ	ai
		आँ	ō
		ओ	o
		आँ	ō
		औ	āu
		औ	au



Questionnaire

The enclosed questionnaire was sent to 23 libraries in England in September 1973 in order to assess the size of their collections relevant to our subject. Of these, 21 replied. The data provided by libraries outside London was negligible. The following libraries were helpful in replying about the approximate size of their collection:

	Books in Western Languages.	Books Kashmiri	Mss. Kashmiri	Mss. Western
British Library		300	6	
British Library of Pol. & Eco- nomic Science.	75			
Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge.	29			
Durham University	15	2		
India Office Library.	400	130		10 collections and 2 unpub- lished works.
SOAS Library	300	120		2

The replies of the rest of the libraries were either that they did not have material on the subject or that they did not have time to fill in the questionnaire. After examining the replies, it was decided that visits to libraries outside London would not be very fruitful as the material available in those libraries had already been included. Almost all the material on the subject is in London.

Questionnaire about materials on Jammu and Kashmir  
in British Libraries.

1. Do you have material relating to Jammu and Kashmir? Yes/No
  
2. Are you currently buying material on Jammu and Kashmir? Yes/No
  
3. The size of your collection on J&K in Western languages, Kashmiri, and other oriental languages. Please state if possible, the approximate number of:
  - (a) books in
    - i) western languages \_\_\_\_\_
    - ii) Kashmiri \_\_\_\_\_
    - iii) other oriental languages \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Periodicals in
    - i) western languages \_\_\_\_\_
    - ii) Kashmiri \_\_\_\_\_
    - iii) other oriental languages \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) manuscripts in
    - i) western languages \_\_\_\_\_
    - ii) Kashmiri \_\_\_\_\_
    - iii) other oriental languages \_\_\_\_\_
  - (d) maps in
    - i) western languages \_\_\_\_\_
    - ii) Kashmiri \_\_\_\_\_
    - iii) other oriental languages \_\_\_\_\_
  - (e) pictorial material (photos, prints, drawings etc.) \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Catalogues available to the general reader:
  - (a) printed materials in western languages
    - i) author Yes/No
    - ii) subject (please indicate if classified, A-Z subject headings etc.) Yes/No

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  - iii) title Yes/No
  - iv) periodicals Yes/No
  - v) index to articles - periodicals and collected works Yes/No
  - (b) printed material in oriental languages Yes/No
    - i. i) author Yes/No
    - ii) subject ( please indicate if classified, A-Z subject headings etc.) Yes/NO
    - iii) title Yes/No
    - iv) periodicals Yes/No
    - v) index to periodical articles and collected works. Yes/No

- II. Are separate catalogues maintained for each language Yes/No
- (c) manuscripts Yes/No  
     i) western languages Yes/No  
     ii) Kashmiri Yes/No  
     iii) other oriental languages Yes/No
- (d) maps Yes/No  
 (e) pictorial material Yes/No  
 (f) other information. Please note e.g.  
     i) any catalogues for special categories Yes/No  
     not noted above
- 
- 
- ii) any gaps in coverage of particular catalogues Yes/No
- 
- 
- iii) any plans for changing cataloguing methods Yes/No
5. Do your readers mostly use:  
     a) author catalogue Yes/No  
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         i) Anglo-American Cataloguing rules Yes/No  
         ii) other (please specify)
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 (a) do you think such instructions are necessary Yes/No
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- |   |        |
|---|--------|
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| iii) bookseller's lists and publishers' catalogues              | Yes/No |
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| vi) any other source (please specify)                           | Yes/No |

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11. Any other information about your collection which is particularly relevant to studies of Jammu and Kashmir

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12. The names of the person filling in the questionnaire together with full official address.
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Please return the questionnaire to Mr. R.C.Dogra,  
 School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet  
 Street, University of London, W.C.1.

Part 1: Bibliographical essays etc.

### Jammu and Kashmir - general information

The Jammu and Kashmir state, generally known as 'Kashmir', has been described by many as the most beautiful place because of its snow-capped hills, beautiful lakes, streams, springs, gardens and graceful trees. The term 'Kashmir' as it is generally used, is not accurate. It applies only to one part of the entire territory. The official name has been the state of 'Jammu and Kashmir' since 1846.

### Location and topography

Jammu and Kashmir is situated in the extreme north of India. Its location is strategic, as four-fifths of its boundary is international. Pakistan is in the west, Afghanistan in the north, China in the north and north-east, and Tibet in the east. The southern part of the state joins India.

The entire state, with the exception of Kashmir valley and a small area in Jammu province is hilly with varying elevations. Ladakh is a plateau. Most of the mountains are over 4,500 metres above sea-level.

The physical features of the state have a great bearing on its transport system. Most of its area is mountainous; and whatever communication possibilities that exist between India and the neighbouring countries have been closed on account of the political conditions.

### Area

According to the 1971 Census of India the area of the State is 222,800 sq.Kms.<sup>1</sup> of which about 83,808 sq.Kms.

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1. India. Census of India, 1971. Series 8, part II, A. p.34.

(Gilgit, Chilas, Wazarat districts, Tribal territory and part of Muzaffarabad, Punch, Mirpur and Ladakh districts) are under the occupation of Pakistan. After the Indo-China war in 1962, about 41,500 sq. Kms. of the Ladakh district were occupied by China. Therefore the area under effective control of the State is about 97,500 sq. Kms.

The State consists of two provinces or ten districts. Kashmir province consists of the districts of Anantnag, Srinagar, Baramula and Ladakh, and Jammu province consists of the districts of Doda, Udhampur, Jammu, Kathua, Rajauri and Poonch. According to the 1971 Census there are 6,742 villages, of which 6,503 are inhabited and 239 uninhabited.

The State may be divided physically into three areas; the upper, comprising the area drained by the river Indus and its tributaries; the middle, drained by the rivers Jhelum and Kishanganga; and the lower, consisting of the level strip along the southern border and its adjacent ranges of hills. The dividing lines between the three areas are the snow-bound inner and outer Himalayan ranges known as the Zojila and the Panchal.

Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by huge mountains. They are infinitely varied in form and colour. To the north is a chain of mountains dominated by the mighty Nanga Parbat (7,980 metres). To the east stands Haramukh (5,150 metres). Further south is Mahadeo and the lofty ranges of Gwasha Brari (5,425 metres) and the peak of Amarnath (5,280 metres). On the south-west is the Panjal range with peaks of 4,500 metres.

### Population

According to the 1971 Census the state has a population of 4,616,632. It has the lowest density of population<sup>1</sup> in India i.e. 26 inhabitants per square kilometre as against 138 in all-India.

Over the decade 1961-71, its population rose<sup>2</sup> by 29.6 percent. The state is sparsely populated. The density of population varies from district to district. Srinagar and Jammu with 265 and 226 per sq. Km. respectively are the most densely populated districts; while Doda, Udhampur and Rajouri, being hilly districts, have relatively low population density.

Srinagar and Jammu are the centres of important economic activities, namely, trade, commerce, industry and tourism. The bulk of the traffic, both in goods and passengers, originates and terminates at these two places.

### Kashmir valley

Kashmir valley is approximately<sup>3</sup> 134 Kms. in length and 32 Kms. in breadth. It is at an average height of 1800 metres above the sea level. Kashmir is a land of lakes, rivers and springs. Wular, Dal and Manasbal are the well known fresh water lakes which are fed by springs and snow-fed streams. The Wular lake is the largest fresh-water lake in Asia. Srinagar, the capital of the state, situated in the centre of the valley, stands on the bank of the river Jhelum. It is one of the oldest cities of India. Its

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1. G.L. Kaul. Kashmir then and now: a historical survey, 1972.

2. India. Census of India 1971. Series 8, Part IIA.p.34-46.

3. P.N.K. Bamzai. Jammu and Kashmir, New Delhi, 1973.  
p. 3-4.



history dates back to the time of Ashoka<sup>1</sup> who is credited with having founded it during his visit to Kashmir. Ashoka reigned in India from 273-232 B.C., and it was early in his life that Ashoka came in contact with Kashmir.

Beyond the Kashmir valley are Ladakh, Baltistan and Dardistan. The whole region is mountainous and sparsely populated.

Jammu, the winter capital of the state is by a small river Tawi. Both the Tawi and the Ujh, another small river flowing nearby, are chiefly dependent on rain which often floods them during the monsoons. Jammu city is about 300 metres high above the sea level, and spreads over more than 3 Kms. The prominent features of the city are its temples.

### Climate<sup>2</sup>

Climate conditions vary widely in the state. In winter, the temperature falls to freezing point in the valley( -4.8 degrees cent. in Srinagar city), and much lower in the high altitude areas of Anantnag and Baramula districts. Heavy snowfall in the winter months retards economic activities throughout the greater part of the valley, causes road blocks and restricts the flow of traffic in the interior. The cold north-west winds to which the valley is exposed, do not affect the Jammu province to the same degree, because of the protection provided by the Pir-Panjal range and the Himalayas.

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1. M.A. Stein. Rajatarangini of Kalhana. English translation with introduction and notes. 2 vols. Westminster, 1900. Vol.1. p.104.

2. R.L.Singh. India: a regional geography. Varanasi, 1971.

Rainfall is heavy in July and August, causing occasional landslides and floods at various road sections in the Jammu province. Floods block the traffic, particularly in the low-lying areas between Lakhanpur and Jammu.

### Transport and communication

With the beginning of the present century Kashmir was opened to the outside world with the building of two roads, namely the Jhelum valley and the Banihal, which connected Srinagar to Rawalpindi and Jammu respectively. In 1947, when Pakistan came into existence, the Jhelum valley road was cut off and the development of other roads became more important. Three very important roads were built soon after. (1) Pathankot to Jammu, (2) Banihal pass road, which used to remain closed about four months a year because of heavy snow, was turned into a national highway by digging a low altitude tunnel through the Banihal pass. Now it remains open throughout the year. (3) A motorable road was built to Leh and beyond. Previously there was only a hill track for animals.

The state undertook comprehensive road building during the first three five-year plans<sup>1</sup>. During the third plan period over 960 Kms.<sup>2</sup> of metalled road was black-topped, 830 Kms. of shingled roads were metalled, 1075 Kms. of fairweather roads were shingled and 949 bridle paths were converted to 'Jeepable' roads. In the fourth plan the target is to lay 4,832 Kms. of surfaced roads.

Communication before the introduction of metalled roads was very slow.

1. First Five year plan 1951-56; 2nd 1956-61; 3rd 1961-66.  
2P.N.K. Bamzai. Jammu and Kashmir ... . Delhi, 1973. p.35.

Almost all the transport needs of the state are met by the road system. The areas of major economic activity in the state are generally well served by roads. However, a large number of villages, particularly in hilly areas, are away from these roads and are connected by mule tracks or bridle paths. These are mainly in Doda, Rajouri, Punch, Kathua and Baramula districts.

The total road length in the state in 1970 was 7,700 Kms.<sup>1</sup> It excludes road length in Ladakh province, 6,225 Kms. maintained by the Forest and Irrigation Department and non-motorable bridle roads, but includes all border roads open for civilian traffic.

#### Railways<sup>2</sup>

There are no railways in the state except the Pathankot-Madhopur line (about 17 Kms.) which was opened in November 1955. This was extended to Kathua in 1966 and to Jammu in 1972. The regular train services started from January 1973. The broad gauge rail link is about 80 Kms. from Pathankot to Jammu.

There are plans to construct railways in the Kashmir valley. The following electric rail sections the state government is thinking about:-

1. Srinagar-Anantnag-Qazigund, about 90 Kms.
2. Srinagar-Pulwama-Shopian-Quazigund, about 110 Kms.
3. Srinagar-Pattan-Sangram, about 55 Kms.
4. Sangrama-Baramulla, about 20 Kms.
5. Sangrama-Sopore, about 12 Kms.

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1. NCAER. Regional transport survey of Jammu and Kashmir. New Delhi, 1975. p.66.

2. Ibid. p.184-86.

These towns are well connected by roads and it is not sure whether these plans will materialise due to the heavy cost involved.

### Water-ways<sup>1</sup>

Inland water transport is feasible only in the valley, on the Jhelum between Khanabal and Baramulla. At present country boats (Khatchus) ply these waters and some timber is rafted down the Jhelum. The waterways are not being used fully, and the state government is trying to increase their use.

### Airways<sup>2</sup>

Regular air services from New Delhi to Jammu and Srinagar are of great help to tourist traffic. Indian Airlines operate daily all the year round.

### Economics<sup>3</sup>

The per capita income of the state is estimated at Rs.531 for 1969-70 at current prices. This is about 10 percent lower than the national average (Rs.589). The low level of the state's economy can be explained by two factors. Firstly, the participation rate is lower than all India: it is due to fewer women taking part in the economic activity. Secondly, the agriculture and the allied activities contributed to the state's economy were about 40 percent; industry 21 percent; services 32 percent to the state's income in 1968-69. The corresponding figures at the national level being 43, 16 and 22 percent respectively. The low contribution of agriculture is due to the fact that there is little cultivation

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1. NCAER. Regional transport survey of J&K. op.cit. p.178-84.

2. Ibid. p.186-88.

3. Ibid. p.11-13.

during winter on account of extreme cold in most parts of the area. Modern industry in the state is practically non-existent except for a few carpet and silk manufacturing units. The only activity which is well developed is that of tourism.

Fruits and timber are the only surplus products. The economy of the state is dependent on the rest of India for most of its essential goods such as industrial raw material, fuel, construction material and consumer goods.

### Minerals<sup>1</sup>

The state's reserve potential of minerals is modest. Coal, lignite, limestone, bauxite and sapphire are the important minerals occurring in the state. Coal and limestone are the two major items which involve bulk movement. All these deposits are located in the Jammu and Udhampur districts.

### Agriculture<sup>2</sup>

According to 1971 Census of India about 83 percent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir live in rural areas. This figure signifies that most of the people depend upon agriculture for their economic pursuits. Rice is the most important crop, accounting for about half the total food

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1. R.L. Singh. India: a regional geography. Ibid. p.347-89.

- NCAER. New Delhi. Regional transport survey of J&K. New Delhi, 1975. p.21-2.

-NCAER. Techno economic survey of J&K. 1969. p.68-74.

-For further information see writings of D.N.Wadia and C.S.Middlemiss in the bibliography.

2. India. Institute of Agricultural Research. Statistics. New Delhi, 1962. Pt. 1(vii) p.672.

-NCAER. Regional transport survey ... . op.cit. p. 13-18.

production. The next important crops are wheat and maize. Because of modern methods of agriculture, the yield of foodgrains like rice, wheat and maize has increased considerably. The output of other cereals and pulses is negligible.

Saffron is a very important crop of Kashmir. For hundreds of years in the Indian sub-continent it was grown only in the Kashmir valley. It was for a considerable period of time the single source of income for Kashmir. With the rapid growth of population in the state, food supply is a major problem. The state is deficient in foodgrains and every year it imports food in large quantities from other states of India.

#### Animal husbandry<sup>1</sup>

This is a poorly developed sector of the economy. Total livestock population of the state was 4 million in 1966. Of the total livestock population, cattle and buffaloes account for 55 percent and sheep 28 percent. The state has a relatively large number of sheep in its livestock population compared to the rest of India. The milk yield of the local cows and buffaloes is low compared to the national average.

Sheep-rearing in the state is well developed. It provides high quality raw wool for the requirement of the woollen textile units in the state.

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1. NCAER. Regional transport survey of Jammu and Kashmir. op. cit. p.18.

The majority of the population being non-vegetarian, meat demand is high and has been growing year by year. Decline in the livestock population and the growing demand for meat in the state has necessitated large import of sheep and goats in the recent years.

### Industries<sup>1</sup>

The industrial base of the state is heavily biased in favour of cottage and small-scale industry. Modern industry is almost absent. In 1970 there were in all 213 registered factories employing 11,899 workers in the state. Accordingly, the number of factory workers per thousand of population in the state was 2.6 in contrast to 8.8 at the national level. Except for one cement plant, there is no large-scale industry in the state. Of the total registered units in 1970, only 25 employed more than 100 workers each. Of these, 15 were textile units engaged in silk weaving or carpet making. Thus in 1970 out of a total number of 213 registered factories in the state, 72 were textiles, 28 forest-based and 37 engineering and repair units.

### Education and Health<sup>2</sup>

From ancient times the valley was a centre of Sanskrit learning. During the mediaeval period Persian was introduced as a medium of education and learning. Kashmir acquired

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1. NCAER. Regional transport survey.op.cit. p.19.

- India. Industrial Development Company Affairs Ministry. Report on industrial potentialities of J&K. state. New Delhi,1967. p.157. (Mimeographed).

2. Jammu and Kashmir. Education Development Committee. Development of education in the state of J&K. Report of the Committee (Chairman - Bhagwan Sahay) appointed by the state governmentj. Srinagar,1973. p.147.  
- P.N.K. Ramzai. Jammu & Kashmir. op.cit. p.38.

fame as a centre of Persian scholarship and was known all over the East as Iran-i-Saghir or Little Iran.

By the time British rule was established in north India, Kashmir had become backward in education. A state school, teaching English as one of the subjects, was opened in 1888 and the first arts college in Srinagar came into being in 1905. This was followed by the opening of another college in Jammu in 1908. From that time onwards new primary, middle and high schools were opened in different parts of the state. After 1947 the Jammu and Kashmir University was established on 1 November 1948 for higher education. With the rapid increase in student population, the University was reorganised in 1964 into two divisions, one each for Jammu and Kashmir.

In 1953 education was made free from the primary to post-graduate level. This brought education within the reach of everyone in the state.

### Health<sup>1</sup>

Modern medical facilities and sanitation in the state were first introduced towards the end of the last century. Before that people were dependant on Hakims and Vaidis (local doctors) for the treatment of their ailments.

The establishment of a mission and a state hospital in Srinagar was followed by the setting-up of a Medical Department. Dispensaries were opened in important towns. By 1947 the expenditure on public health had gone

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1. P.N.K. Bamzai. Jammu and Kashmir. op.cit. p.38-42.



upto Rs.1,900,000 rupees annually, which works out at 47 paise per head. In 1970-71 the annual expenditure was about Rs.47,300,000 or Rs.10.75 per head. The annual span of life has risen from 32 years in 1947 to 50 years today.

In the health programme malaria, trachoma, leprosy, tuberculosis and V.D. are now more or less controlled. Similarly a great effort is being made for the eradication of smallpox.

The Medical College in Srinagar trains about two hundred doctors every year. In order to take away the pressure from the Central Hospitals at Srinagar and Jammu, the district hospitals are provided with specialist services.

Special attention is being given to the health of school-going children.

### Tourism<sup>1</sup>

It is an important activity, well developed in the state. Every year a large number of tourists, both from other parts of the country and from abroad, visit the valley, mostly between April and October. The state is famous for religious places, ancient monuments, health resorts and Mughal gardens.

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1. Ahmad Ullah. Gardens and lakes of Kashmir. KT. Vol.2(6). July-Aug.1957. p.59-60.

- E.T. Atkinson. Notes on the history of religion in Himalaya of North-West provinces. JASB. V.53. 1884. p.39-103; V.54,1885. p.1-16.
- P.N.K.Bamzai. Jammu & Kashmir. op.cit. p.45-60.
- Percy Brown. Mogul gardens. Marg. vol.8(2), March 1955. p.93-100.
- P.Gervis. This is Kashmir. London, 1954.
- R.C. Kak. Ancient monuments of Kashmir. London,1933.p.161.
- A. Neve. The tourist guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Khardo &C. Lahore, 1918.

<sup>1</sup>  
The people, races and tribes.

The state presents the picture of a multiracial society, speaking different languages, and having different religious, traditions in dress, manners and customs.

According to 1941 Census of India the total population of the state was 4,021,616. There were 3,101,247 Muslims; 809,165 Hindus; 65,603 Sikhs; 40,696 Buddhists; and others 4,605. According to the Census of India 1961 the total population of the state was 3,560,976. There were 2,432,067 Muslims; 1,013,193 Hindus; 63,096 Sikhs; 48,360 Buddhists; and 4,277 others.

Jammu is the home of the Dogras, a hardy people divided into several castes and sects, both Hindus and Muslims. Dogras speak the Dogri language, a mixture of Sanskrit, Panjabi and Persian.

The inhabitants of the 'Middle mountains' are Pahari people. They are strong and hardy people who lead a very

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1. John Biddulph. Tribes of the Hindoo Kush. Calcutta, 1880.

-A.H. Bingley. Jats, Gujars and Ahirs. Calcutta, 1904.

-A. Cunningham. Ladakh: Physical, statistical and historical with notices of the surrounding countries. London, 1854.

-W.B. Cunningham. Dogras. Calcutta, 1932.

-E. Von Eickstedt. Races and types of Western and Central Himalayas. Man in India. Vol. 16, 1926. p. 237-74.

-Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq. Tarikh-i akwam Kashmir. Lahore, 1934.

-Jia Lal Kilam. A history of Kashmiri Pandits. Srinagar, 1955.

-W.R. Lawrence. The valley of Kashmir. London, 1895. p. 302-19.

-M.A. Stein. Rajatarangini of Kalhana. Westminster, 1900. 2 vols.

rough life, eking out a subsistence by terrace cultivation on the slopes of the steep hills. Their language is Pahari, a mixture of Hindi, Panjabi, Dogri and Sanskrit.

Another interesting hill people are the Gujars. They lead semi-nomadic lives, moving in summer with their herds and flocks from the warm regions of Jammu to the colder valley of Kashmir, and during winter moving back to Jammu and the Panjab. They are a fine, tall race. They believe in Islam, but rarely mix with the Muslims of Kashmir. Their language is known as Gujar. According to the 1961 Census of India, it was classified under Rajasthani.

Another important tribe with whom the visitor to the valley generally comes into contact are the Hanjis, or boatmen, of Kashmir. They are an ancient race and the Rajatarangini often mentions the nishads (boatman). Their knowledge of boatcraft is excellent.

The Watalas are the gypsies of Kashmir. They are Muslims and are divided into two classes. Those who eat the flesh of dead animals and those who do not. Those who eat the flesh of dead animals are not admitted into mosques. Their principal occupation is the production of leather.

Other interesting tribes are: Bombas, Dums, Galwans and Chaupans. Galwans are the horse-keepers of Kashmir and are descendants of Dums. Dums are the watchmen of the villages. Chaupans, the hereditary shepherds who tend sheep and cattle of the villagers during summer months by taking them to green pastures on the various meadows.

The inhabitants of Dardistan to the north of the valley are broad shouldered, moderately stoutly built, well

proportioned and active mountaineers.

The region to the north-east of the valley is inhabited by Baltis, and further to the east by Ladakhis. The overwhelming majority of the people in the Valley are Muslims<sup>1</sup>. Islam, founded by the Prophet Muhammad, came to India in the seventh century with Arab traders. The advent of Islam in Kashmir during the 13th and 14th centuries changed the social structure of the people. The impact of the Arabic and Persian cultures which followed the wholesale adoption of Islam in Kashmir, produced a profound effect on dress, social customs, art and literature which is discernable in the valley even today.

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1. Mohibbul Hasan. Kashmir under the Sultans. Calcutta, 1959.

-R.K.Parmu. History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819. Delhi, 1969.

-G.M.D. Sufi. Islamic culture in Kashmir. Simla, Army Press, 1925.

Rājatarāṅginī and other reference sources on the history, politics etc. of Kashmir.

The history of Kashmir can be divided into five different phases in order to appreciate its literary resources. (1) Early history of Hindu kings, (2) Muslim rule, (3) Sikh rule, (4) Dogra rule and (5) Jammu and Kashmir after 1947.

The early history of Hindu kings and Muslim rulers is well covered by Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī and other chronicles of Pandit Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Prajabhaṭṭa who brought the narration up to the Moghul conquest in 1586.

Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī.

No history of Kashmir is complete without a thorough study of the Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhana, which was written in Sanskrit verse from A.D. 1148-1150. There are two scholarly translations, one by Dr. M.A. Stein<sup>1</sup> and the other by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit<sup>2</sup>. Stein's translation is more useful because it has a long introduction and a detailed commentary. Kashmir is the only region of India which has a series of written records of its ancient history. Material in the earlier chapters of Rājatarāṅginī is legendary in character, but its later chapters are accepted by scholars as reliable record of events from the seventh century to the middle of the twelfth century.

Kalhana acknowledges the sources from which he took material. But all the sources seem to have been lost, except Nilāmatapurāna.

1. M.A. Stein. Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhana. English translation with introduction and notes. 2 vols. Westminster, 1900.

2. R.S. Pandit. Rājatarāṅginī: the sage of the kings of Kashmir. Translated into English. Allahabad, 1935.

Kalhana's father was a Minister of the King Harsha, who ruled from 1089 to 1101. Because of the high position of his father, he received a good education, which equipped him for his work as a historian.

Stein observes that the chronicles which continued Kalhana's work have proved very useful in clearing up points of the old topography of Kashmir. These chronicles are not up to the standard of Kalhana. The total length of these later chronicles is not more than one half of Kalhana's text. They give more room to episodic descriptions, and do not show that care for accuracy in topographical statements which is found in Kalhana's work.

The later chronicles of Jonarāja, Pandit Śrīvara, Prajabhaṭṭa and Suka are mainly concerned with the Muslim rule.

#### Rājatarāṅginī of Jonarāja<sup>1</sup>.

Jonarāja was a learned Brahmin and one of the judicial advisers of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70), who continued Kalhana's work and extended the narrative to the year 1459. He wrote at the order of the Sultan, who wanted the long gap in the history of Kashmir to be filled. He confesses that his work is only an outline

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1. Jogesh Chandar Dutt, Translator. Kings of Kashmir, being a translation of the Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhana, Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prajabhaṭṭa and Suka. Calcutta, I.C.Bose, 1879, 1887, 1898. 3 vols. Vols. 1 & 2. contains the translation of Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī, 1879 and 1887. Vol. 3. contains translations of Sanskrit works of Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prajabhaṭṭa and Suka.

Jonarāja pages 1-98; Śrīvara pages 99-336; Prajabhaṭṭa and Suka pages 337-427.

Dutt's translation is based on the Calcutta edition of 1835. See page 58, footnote 2.

of the history of Kings<sup>1</sup>. He does not throw any light on the life and condition of the people inhabiting the valley before the Muslim rule was established in 1320; nor does he tell us the causes responsible for the downfall of the Hindu sovereignty. He does not even give a detailed account of the contemporary period, or mention the sources of his chronicle; but he nevertheless pays much attention to chronology, and his topographical notices are fairly accurate and valuable. He died in 1459. He was a scholar but lacked the originality and freshness of Kalhana.

#### Jaina-Rājatarāṅgini<sup>2</sup>

This was the third chronicle composed by Jonarāja's pupil, Pandit Śrīvara, who narrates the history of less than 30 years (1459-86). It is exhaustive, comprising 238 pages in translation, while the chronicle of Jonarāja, a narrative of about 300 years, covers only 90 pages in translation ( see page 56, footnote 1). Śrīvara wielded great influence with Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden and enjoyed royal patronage during the reigns of Haidar Shah (1470-72) and Hasan Shah (1472-84). He acted as Hasan Shah's teacher while he was a prince. He was an excellent musician and acted as Director of Music in the reign of Hasan Shah.

#### Rājavalipatākā of Prajabhatta<sup>3</sup> and Śuka<sup>3</sup>

These are the fourth and fifth chronicles. Rajavalipatika

1. Jogesh Chandar Dutt, Kings of Kashmir ... . op. cit.

Vol.3. p.2-3.

2. Ibid. Vol. 3. p.99-336..

3. Ibid. Vol.3. p. 337-427.

of Prajabhaṭṭa deals with the history of 27 years (1486-1513) only. The author found it impossible to continue the narrative owing to the tumult in the kingdom. Prajabhaṭṭa's narrative of 27 years has been lost ; Śuka refers to it in the introduction of his work. He summarises the events of these twenty-seven years in fifty verses.

In 1598, Śuka, another Brahman chronicler, took up the task of continuing the chronicle. He commenced his narrative from 1513 where Prajabhaṭṭa had suddenly stopped, but he retained the title given by Prajabhaṭṭa to his work. He wrote almost eighty-five years after Prajabhaṭṭa. Unfortunately there are some gaps<sup>1</sup> in his chronicle, from 1453 to 1533 and from 1541 to 1546. The work of Prajabhaṭṭa and Śuka is inferior even to that of Śrīvara.

There are two texts of these chronicles, the Calcutta edition of 1835<sup>2</sup> and the Bombay edition of 1892-96<sup>3</sup>. The 1896 manuscript was obtained<sup>4</sup> on loan from Mathura. In all probability the Mathura manuscript is no more than a copy, made with unusual care, of the manuscript on which Dr. Stein's edition is founded.

#### History of the text of Rājataranginī

In 1825 Dr. H.H. Wilson<sup>5</sup> published an 'Essay on the

1. Bahāristān-i Shāhī covers the gaps left by these chronicles. See page 72.
2. The Rājataranginī consisting of four separate compilations: viz. (1) the Rājataranginī by Kalhana 1148 A.D., (2) the Rājavalī by Jonarāja (defective) to 1412 A.D., (3) continuation of the same by Śrīvara A.D. 1477, (4) the Rājavalī patākā by Prajabhaṭṭa, brought up to the conquest of the valley by the emperor Akbar. Sanskrit text. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1835. (This copy was bought by Moorcroft. See page 59). This was the text on which J.C. Dutt based his English translation.
3. The Rājataranginī of Kalhana, ed. by Durgā Prasād. Containing the supplements to the work of Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Prajabhaṭṭa. Edited by P. Peterson, Sanskrit text. 3 vols. Bombay, 1892-96.
4. Ibid. Vol. 2. p. v-vi.
5. H.H. Wilson. An essay on the Hindu history of Kashmir, 1825. Asiatic Researches Vol. 15. p. 1-119.



Hindu history of Kashmir', which contained an abstract in English of the first six cantos of Kalhana's poem. (The complete text of Kalhana consists of eight cantos).

His essay was based on two manuscripts<sup>1</sup> obtained about 1805 by H.T. Colebrooke and P. Speke from Calcutta and Lucknow. These two manuscripts were inferior even to the Calcutta edition of 1835.

Dr. Wilson was the first to attempt to utilize the contents of Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī for a critical study of the early history and antiquities of Kashmir, and he was also the first to realize that Rājatarāṅgiṇī was not one chronicle but a series of chronicles written by different people.

The Calcutta edition<sup>2</sup> of 1835 which forms the editio princeps of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī was based principally on a Devanagari transcript which the traveller Mr. W. Moorcroft had got copied for the Asiatic Society of Bengal during his stay at Srinagar in 1823. The versified colophon attached to this transcript and reproduced at the end of the editio princeps informs us that the original manuscript from which the Annals of the kings of Kashmir were copied for Moorcroft, and were obtained from the learned Kashmiri Pandit Sivarama. The latter is praised in the colophon<sup>3</sup> as the representative of that family which alone in Kashmir had always preserved a copy of the Royal Chronicles.

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1. H.H. Wilson. An essay on the Hindu history of Kashmir. 1825. Asiatic Researches Vol. 15. p. 2.
  2. M.A. Stein. Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhana. Westminster, 1900. Vol. 1. p. 45-7.
  3. Ibid. The Colophon is reproduced in Stein's edition. Vol. 1. p. xii.

Numerous corruptions found in the text of the Calcutta edition proved clearly that Mr. Moorcroft's copy shared all the defects inherent in Devanagari transcripts made in Kashmir from the Sharda script.

Discovery of codex archetypus<sup>1</sup>

No advance was made towards the recovery of the genuine text of the Rājatarāṅgīnī until Professor Bühler's<sup>2</sup> tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir in 1877. This codex archetypus, as Professor Bühler called it, was at the time of his visit in the possession of Pandit Keshavarama, the grandson of Pandit Sivarama. The owner did not allow Professor Bühler to have more than a glimpse of the ancient manuscript<sup>3</sup>.

Stein says that the chances of obtaining access to the codex seemed even less promising at the time of his first visit to Kashmir in 1888, because after the death of Pandit Keshavarama, the manuscript had been cut up and divided among three of his heirs. After much efforts Stein was successful in obtaining the three parts of the manuscripts as a loan in 1889 on his second visit. It contained all the eight cantos of Kalhana's work, forming a large octavo volume which originally consisted of 328 folios of age-worn Kashmir paper.

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1. M.A. Stein. Rājatarāṅgīnī of Kalhana. op. cit. Vol.1. p.45.

2. J.G. Bühler. Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir ... . London, 1877. p.7.

3. Ibid. p.54.

Rājānaka Ratnakantha<sup>1</sup>, the writer of the codex archetypus.

Rājānaka Ratnakantha was a scholar of great ability and he copied the manuscripts between A.D. 1648-1649 and A.D. 1685-1686. It is not known whether he copied the manuscripts from the original or from some other copies. Most of the manuscripts found in Kashmir are either written by him or copied by him.

Stein's discovery of Lahore manuscript<sup>2</sup> 1895.

Stein says that in April 1895, he obtained, after a good deal of negotiation, access to a small and much neglected collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, belonging to Pandit Jaganmohan Lal Hund, a Purohit of Kashmirian descent temporarily resident in Lahore. He found in that collection a Rājatarāṅginī in Devanagari characters; the manuscript was very carelessly copied from a Sharda original, the text of which agreed closely with that of the Kashmirian codex archetypus. A closer examination revealed that in spite of many blunders and corruptions there were some readings manifestly superior to Ratnakantha's text. Some passages in Rajanaka Ratnakantha's text were not clear and this manuscript helped a lot in restoring the true sense of Kalhana's text in a number of passages.

From the imperfect Calcutta edition of 1835, a French translation of the first six cantos of Kalhana's

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1. M.A. Stein. Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhana. op. cit. Vol. 1. p. 46-8.

2. Ibid. Vol. p.50.

poem was made in 1840 by M.A. Troyer<sup>1</sup> who was then the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and it was published under the auspices of the Société Asiatique at Paris. M.A. Troyer completed the translation in 1852. From the same imperfect Calcutta edition of 1835, Jogesh Chandar Dutt<sup>2</sup> translated the Rājatarāṅginī into English. His English version of the Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhana first appeared from Calcutta between 1879-1887, in two volumes, under the title of 'Kings of Kashmir'. In 1898 he brought out the English versions of the three chronicles of Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Śuka, in one volume, from the same place and under the same title<sup>3</sup>.

Professor Bühler had translated some verses of the Rājatarāṅginī in his 'Detailed report in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir, London, 1877'. M.A. Stein followed, as regards the form of his translation, the suggestions of Prof. Bühler. Stein says in his Preface: "These considerations have induced me to follow the example of Professor Bühler in his specimen-translation and to adopt a form of rendering that allows the interpreter not only to reproduce plainly the meaning of the text, but also indirectly to indicate often the construction or other exegetical reasons underlying his version. Thin square brackets have been employed throughout to distinguish words which are not actually found in the original, but require to be added in order

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1. M.A. Troyer. Rājatarāṅginī, histoire des rois du Kachmir ... (Sanskrit and French). Paris, 1840-52. 3 vols. Vols. 1 & 2 contain Sanskrit text and French translation of first 6 cantos. Vol.3. contains only French translation of Cantos 7 and 8 of Kalhana.
  2. J.C. Dutt. op. cit. Vol. 1 and 2.
  3. Ibid. Vol.3.

to make the context intelligible in English; round brackets denote additions having more the nature of glosses. Pedantic as this device seems it has often saved lengthy explanatory notes, and its advantages will be readily appreciated wherever reference to the exact words of the Chronicle is essential".

The later researches<sup>1</sup> of General Cunningham, Professor Lassen and others have brought to light valuable results regarding the chronology of the Hindu dynasties and their connexions with territories outside Kashmir. In 1877 Professor Bühler in his 'Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir', said that; "it may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many Sanskritists, is, after all the labour expended, not in satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to be desired". Soon after the report, the English translation was published by Mr. J.C.Dutt, based on the corrupt text of the Calcutta edition, and this translation can be used only with caution by the student to whom the original text of the Chronicle is not accessible. In 1892 a new Sanskrit edition in two volumes with preface in English of Kalhana's work was published by Dr. Stein, under the auspices of the Kashmir State Council. In this the correct text of the chronicle was restored for the first time. Dr. Stein's English translation, which was published in 1900, was based on the 1892 Sanskrit edition.

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1. J.G.Bühler. Detailed report of a tour ... . op cit.  
P.53.

Religious books - The Nīlamatapurāṇa<sup>1</sup> and Māhātmyas.

Kalhana used the Nīlamatapurāṇa as one of his sources of information. This gave him the sacred legends regarding the country and the religious ceremonies which Nīla (the Lord of Kashmir Nagas) had revealed for the worship and to be observed. This is the oldest source which deals in detail with Kashmirian tiraths (holy places). Professor Bühler in his analysis of the Nīlamata has described it as not older than the sixth or seventh century<sup>2</sup>. All the extant copies of the work show practically the same defective state of text.

Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kashmir the Haracaritacintāmaṇi<sup>3</sup> of Jayadrath can be placed perhaps nearest in date to the Nīlamatapurāṇa. Jayadrath's work, written in a simple kavya style, relates in thirty-two cantos many legends connected with Shiva and his various Avatāras (incarnations). The local names<sup>4</sup> as recorded by Jayadratha, agree closely with those of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

The Māhātmyas<sup>5</sup> are anonymous compositions. There are numerous texts known as Mahatmyas. M.A. Stein says (foot/ 6, note Vol.2. page 380) that Mahatmyas in their present form are recent compositions; there is often abundant evidence

1. Nīlamatapurāṇa, edited with an English introduction by R. Kanjilāl and Jagaddhar Jadu. Lahore, 1924.

2. J.G. Bühler. Detailed report ... . op. cit. p.40.

3. Haracaritacintāmaṇi was published as No.6 of the Kavyamālā Series, Bombay, 1897. (See bibliography for more details).

4. An index of the Kashmir local names in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, with explanatory notes, was prepared by P.Govind Kaul, and published as an Appendix to the Kavyamālā edition, 1897.

5. J.G. Bühler. Detailed report ... . op. cit. p.iv, Nos. 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 75, 82, 99, 100.

6. M.A. Stein. Rājatarāṅgiṇī ... . op. cit. Vol.2. p.491-2. A list of 51 Māhātmya texts acquired by Stein in Kashmir.

of the use of earlier materials and traditions. They are handbooks for Purohitas (priests) of the particular Tirthas (places of pilgrimage) who have the privilege of taking charge of the pilgrims. They are intended to support the claims put forth on behalf of the holiness of the Tirtha, and the spiritual rewards promised for visiting it. The Māhātmyas prescribe the rites to be observed by the pilgrim, and the route to be taken by him on the journey. It is usual for the Purohitas to recite the Māhātmyas for the benefit of their clients (pilgrims) in the course of the pilgrimage tour.

#### Semi-historical works

It is fortunate that several of the older Kashmiri poets and others like Dāmodara Gupta, Kṣemendra, Bilhana and Mankha gave some topographical details of the great valley as they enable us to check independently the evidence of Kalhana's local nomenclature, and in some instances they acquaint us with localities of which we find no notice in the chronicles.

Dāmodara Gupta, the Prime Minister of King Jayapada (C.755-786 A.D.) wrote a work entitled Kuṭṭanīmatam. It is a didactic poem in the form of advice tendered to a prince by a Kuṭṭanī or procuress. She tells him how to escape the wiles of a corrupt woman. Apparently sexual vices seem to have degraded society. The society and home of an average Kashmiri were influenced by the Kuṭṭanī to such an extent that to this day her exploits survive in the degraded popular expression. Damodar Gupta tried to root out the evil not by legislation but by educating public opinion. There are two very good

editions of this, one by Tripathi<sup>1</sup> and other by Mathers<sup>2</sup>.

Kṣemendra flourished in the middle of the eleventh century. His works relevant to Kashmir are Deśopadeśa<sup>3</sup>, Narmālā<sup>3</sup>, and Lokaprakāśa<sup>4</sup>, which were composed in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century. They constitute an important landmark in the field of general literature. As far as the study of sociological trends before the establishment of Islam is concerned, all the three works are indispensable. Both Deśopadeśa and Narmālā are edited by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī, and these are satires on social figures, pests and parasites of various professions of Kṣemendra's times.

Lokaprakāśa is an encyclopaedia, a dictionary and a practical handbook, all in one, dealing with mainly sociological, economic and administrative subjects. The author (Kṣemendra) mentions the names of the Parganas (administrative units) of his time and also enumerates specifications of bonds, hundis and social contracts in vogue at that time. It was composed in the eleventh century, and many additions and alterations seem to have been made in it up to the end of the reign of Shahjahan. Professor A. Weber has published a valuable excerpt from this work in the Indische Studien. But a descriptive and critical edition, particularly by a

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1. Kuṭṭanimatam, edited by T.M. Tripathi, Bombay, 1924.

2. E.P. Mathers. Eastern love ... the lessons of a bawd ... English version of Kuṭṭanimatam. Vol.1. London, 1927.

3. Deśopadeśa and Narmālā edited with an introduction by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Sastri. Srinagar, 1923.

4. Lokaprakāśa. A. Weber. Zu Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa, 'Indische Studien, XVIII. 1898.

4. Lokaprakāśa. Edited by Jagaddhar Jadu Sastri. Srinagar, 1947.



Kashmiri Sanskritist will throw a flood of light on the social, economic and administrative conditions of Kashmir from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

Bilhāṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*<sup>1</sup>, gives us a glowing picture of the beauties of the Kashmir capital. It is a semi-historical poem in 18 cantos on the life of King Vikramāditya.

Mankha in his poem *Śrikanṭhacarita*<sup>2</sup> tells us about the description of Kashmir and Pravarapura, its capital. It is not very detailed but is very useful.

#### Pre-Mughal sources

The earlier available Muslim notices regarding Kashmir are contained in Al-Masūdi's *Muruj-al-Dhahab*<sup>3</sup>, Alberūnī's *Kitāb-ul-Hind* and Marco Polo. Al-Masūdi tells us the geographical position of Kashmir, and also gives a very good account of the political divisions of the south-western mighty mountain pass which separates the Kashmir valley from the Panjab, the pedestrian habits of the Kashmiris, the conveyances used by the Kashmiri nobles and the climate of Kashmir.

Alberūnī. *Kitāb-ul-Hind*<sup>4</sup>. The great Muhammadan Arabic scholar utilized every opportunity during his long stay at Ghazna and in Panjab (A.D. 1017-1030) to collect information on Kashmir. He tells us in his first chapter that: "Mahmud<sup>5</sup> utterly ruined the prosperity

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1. J.G.Bühler. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. Sanskrit text. Bombay, 1875. (Poem composed in 1088 A.D.)

2. The *Śrikanṭhacarita* of Mankha. Bombay, 1887. 3rd canto of the poem, pages 10-24, 68.

3. Al-Masūdi. *Muruj al-Dhahab*. (Meadows of gold). English translation. Vol.1. by Alloys S. Sprenger, London, 1841.

4. Alberūnī's *Kitāb-ul-Hind*. English translation under the title 'Alberūnī's India. It is an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws, and astrology of India about A.D. 1030. With notes and Indices by Dr. E.C.Sachu, London, Trubner & Co. Vols. 1-2, 1888.

5. Ibid. Vol.1. p.22.

of the country, and performed wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences (literature, learning and knowledge) have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by Muslims, and have fled to places which Muslim hands cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places". In another passage he speaks again of Benares and Kashmir as the high schools of Hindu sciences<sup>1</sup>.

He had a great knowledge of Kashmiri topography due to his Kashmiri informants<sup>2</sup>. His main account of Kashmir is contained in chapter<sup>3</sup> xviii, which gives various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and their ocean.

Alberūnī first sketches in broad outlines the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Panjab plain. He then refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kashmiris, and notes the nobles' use of Palankins carried on the shoulders of men. He also describes the route into Kashmir, gives some account of Kashmir's geography and closes with a reference to the town of Rajauri.

Marco Polo<sup>4</sup> has left some account of Kashmir (middle of 13th century). He mentions some of the habits and customs of the Kashmirians, their food and drink and

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1. Alberūnī's Kitāb-ul-Hind. Vol.1. p.22.

2. Ibid. Vol.2. p.173.

3. Ibid. Vol.1. p.206.

4. H. Yule. The book of Ser Marco Polo. (Travels of Marco Polo). English translation. 2 vols. London, 1903. Vol. 1. p.166.

their physical features. He states that there are a number of towns and villages in the country, but also forests and desert tracts and strong passes, so that the people have no fear of anybody, and keep their independence with a king of their own to rule and do justice.

He refers to a number of idolaters' abbeys and monasteries which were found in the kingdom of Kashmir and mentions that the coral which was carried from this part of the world had a better market here than that of any other country.

#### Mughal histories - Persian

The following are the general Mughal histories. They contain a lot of information on Kashmir.

Tārīkh-i Rashīdī<sup>1</sup> of Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt is an authoritative Persian history of the Mughals of Central Asia by a contemporary. It is an eye-witness account of the geographical position of Kashmir, Hindu temples and ancient sites, history, politics and religion. It is indispensable for the study of Kashmir for the period 1420-1540.

#### Akbar

Āīn-i Akbarī<sup>2</sup>, Tabaqāt-i Akbarī<sup>3</sup>, Tārīkh-i Farishta<sup>4</sup>,

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1. Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt. Tārīkh-i Rashīdī. English translation by Sir E.D. Ross, London, 1895.
  2. Abul Fazl. Āīn-i Akbarī. Translated by H.F. Blockman and H.S. Jarrett. Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-96. 3 vols.
  3. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī. 3 vols. Translated into English by B.De. Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927-39. 3 vols.
  4. Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta. Tārīkh-i Firishta. English translation in 4 vols. by Col. J. Briggs, under the title 'History of the rise of the Muhammadan power in India till the year 1612, Calcutta, R. Cambray of Calcutta, 1908-1910. 4 vols.

Akbar nāmā<sup>1</sup>, and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh<sup>2</sup>.

These Persian histories were written in the reign of Akbar. The Āin-i Akbarī gives much information about the revenue system of Kashmir, Pargana-bandī (division), the revenue assessment and the strength of the militia maintained in each pargana, and also about the sites, fruits, flowers and food crops as well as the social and religious conditions of the people. The Akbar nāmā supplies detailed information relating to the political history of Kashmir from 1551 to 1597.

#### Jahangir

He liked Kashmir very much and paid several visits to the valley. He studied the country and the people closely, and recorded his views on the sociological and economic conditions, and on the gardens and topography of Kashmir. For the reign of Jahāngīr we have his own memoirs entitled 'Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī'<sup>3</sup>.

#### Shahjahan

Dabistān-al Mazahab<sup>4</sup>, translated by Shea and Troyer into English in 1898 is a very good work. It throws some light on Shaivism in Kashmir at that time.

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1. Abūl Fazl. Akbar namah. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897-1921. 3 vols.
  2. Abdūl Qādir Badaunī. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh. Translated by F.S.A. Ranking, W.H. Lower, and T.W. Haig. Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1884-1925. 3 vols.
  3. Jahāngīr. Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī. Memoirs of Jahāngīr translated by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge. London, The Asiatic Society, 1909-1914. 2 vols.
  4. Dabistān-i Mazhab. The Dabistān or school of manners, translated by D. Shea and A. Troyer. Edited with a preliminary discourse by Troyer. London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1843. 3 vols.

Rājadarshanī<sup>1</sup> is a history of the Jammu Rajas from the earliest times up to 1846, when Kashmir became a part of the dominion of Maharaja Gulab Singh. The author, Ganesh Dās of Rājadarshanī, took the information for compiling this from Muhammadan chronicles, traditions preserved by native bards, and from the list of kings preserved by certain Brahman families of Jammu. Rājadarshanī is also called Tārīkh-i Rājgan-i Jammu. It also tells that Jammu and Kashmir were two independent states. There is a fragment of this manuscript available in the India Office Library, and a complete copy is available in the British Museum Library.

#### Persian histories of Kashmir.

The following are the Persian histories which start from legendary origin of Kashmir, like Kalhana.

Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Shāhbādī. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr<sup>2</sup>. He translated the Rājataranginī of Kalhana into Persian by the order of Akbar. Emperor Akbar was not satisfied with the translation and he asked 'Abdūl Qādir al-Badaunī to rewrite it in simple Persian; the work was completed in two months<sup>3</sup>. Dr. R.K. Parmu in his book, 'A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir', 1969, p.9., says that he consulted two manuscripts of this work, one belonging to the India Office Library (London) and the other <sup>to the</sup> Raza Library, Rampur (India). The India Office Library, and the British Museum Library have manuscript

1. Ganesh Dās Badhrah. Rājdarshanī. 1848. (C.Rieu. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol.3. p.955 a).
2. Mullā Shāh Muḥammad, of Shāhabādī. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. (C.Rieu. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol.1. p.296.)
3. 'Abdūl Qādir Badaunī. Muntkhab-ut-Tawārikh. 3 vols. Vol.2. translated by Lowe. p.386.

copies, which are incomplete. These are the revised versions of Badaunī. Rampur copy continues the narrative beyond the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah, but that seems to be a verbatim copy of the Tārīkh-i Kashmīr of Pandit Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz<sup>1</sup>, which was composed in 1710, at the instance of Arif Khan, the Deputy Governor.

Bahāristān-i Shāhī<sup>2</sup> is a very important anonymous work covering the history of Kashmir in Persian from the earliest times to the year 1625. According to the author the work was commenced in 1614 and completed in 1625. This covers the gaps which were left by Sanskrit chronicles of Prajabhaṭṭa and Śuka for the periods 1486-1505, and 1537-57. Persian chroniclers of Kashmir are of the view that Maulvī or Pīr Hasan Shāh was its author.

Haidar Malik Chadura<sup>3</sup>, Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. It covers the period 1586-1627, and gives description of places like Shahabad Dinpur, Divasar, Lar, Tolamula, Amarnath cave, Ich, Hokarsar, etc., and a summary of the Kishtwar campaign.

Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz<sup>4</sup>, Tārīkh-i Kashmīr, 1710. It is a detailed book on the history of Kashmir based on Sanskrit chronicles and the Tārīkh of Haidar Malik. It ends with the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586.

1. Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. A.D. 1710. (Two manuscripts one in the British Museum and the other in the India Office Library. C. Rieu. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol.1. p. 298. H. Ethe. Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Vol.1. p.203.
2. Bahāristān-i Shāhī. C.Rieu. op.cit. p.297.
3. Haidar Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. A.D.1621. (Six manuscripts in the British Museum Library and the India Office Library. For further details and location numbers see pages 186-187,
4. Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. op.cit.

Muhammad Āzīm<sup>1</sup>, son of Khair-uz-Zamān Khān of Diddamar, Srinagar, wrote Wāqīāt-i-Kashmīr in 1747. It covers political history, religious consciousness, sociology and literary activities of Kashmiri Muslims. The book has been published, and there is also an Urdu translation.

Pandit Birbal Kachru<sup>2</sup>, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh-i Kashmīr, 1835. The book is about the traditions, social customs, and political life of the Hindus of Kashmir. Dr. Parmu says that there are two copies of this manuscript available in the Public Library and the Research Library, Srinagar.

Diwān Kirpā Rām<sup>3</sup>, Gulzār-i Kashmīr and Gulāb Nāmāh. He wrote his Gulzār-i Kashmīr as an addendum to his more exhaustive work entitled 'Gulāb Nāmāh'. Gulāb Nāmāh narrates the exploits of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the first Dogra ruler of Kashmir 1846-57. Professor K.M. Panikkar has taken much material from this work for his work entitled the founding of the Kashmir state ... . London, 1930.

Tārīkh-i Hasan, 1885, 4 vols. It is a comprehensive study of the topographical, social, cultural and political history of Kashmir. Vol.1. deals with geographical features and topography. Vol.2. deals with the development of Muslim cultural and religious movements. Vol.3. describes the political history of Kashmir up to 1898. Vol.4. is a collection of biographical

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1. Muhammad Āzīm Wāqīāt-i Kashmīr. History of Kashmir. A.D.1753. (Two manuscripts one in the British Museum Vol.1. p.300, and the other in the India Office Library ... Vol.1. p.203.) For details of the book see bibliography.
  2. Birbal Kachru. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. 1846? (Srinagar, Research & Publications Department).
  3. Kirpā Rām, Diwān. Gulzār-i Kashmīr. Lahore, 1875.

notices of poets. Volume 3 has been translated into Urdu by Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim, Srinagar, Ghulam Muhammad, 1957. (For a detailed account of Hasan's life see Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Vol.6, 1910. pp.195-96.)

Tārīkh-i Kabīr-i Kashmīr<sup>1</sup> by Hājī Mohi-ud-Dīn. He was a younger contemporary of Maulavī Hasan. He wrote his history in 1892, and it was published in 1894.

The Persian chronicles cannot claim any independent authority for <sup>the</sup> earlier periods of Kashmir history. Most of them have not yet been translated into English and therefore their contents are not conveniently accessible to English readers.

#### Religious literature in Persian.

As a result of the expansion of Islam in Kashmir, Hindu religion and literature received a great setback. In order to assess the influence of Sufism and Islam, our main source of information is the 'Vākyaś' (sayings of Lālded, the Brahman yogini (saint), who lived in the 14th century. There is a very good English translation of these sayings by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Barnett, London, 1920. Sir Richard Temple's critical introduction to the English version of these sayings published in Cambridge, 1924, is also very good.

Most of the sayings of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn of Cherar-i Sharīf, the founder of the Rishi order in Kashmir were collected under the title Nūr Nāme. Tazkira-i Mashāikh-i Kashmīr by Nasīb Kashmīrī<sup>2</sup> contains

1. Hājī Mohi-ud-Dīn. Tārīkh-i Kabīr-i Kashmīr. Amritsar, Suraj Prakash Press, 1894.

2. Nasīb, Bābā or Mulla, Kashmīrī. Tazkira-i mashāikh-i Kashmīr. 11th century Hijrah? (17th century?)



a Persian version of most of these sayings. His work deals with the Muslim saints of Kashmir, who flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. A copy of this manuscript is available in the Edinburgh University Library.

Asrār-ul-Abrār by Daud Mishkatī<sup>1</sup>. It is a biographical dictionary of Kashmiri Muslim saints and Sufis. This manuscript is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.

### Chinese Records

The first Chinese traveller to enter the valley of Kashmir was probably Che-mong<sup>2</sup>. He visited Kashmir about A.D. 404. In A.D. 420 another Chinese, Fa-yong, went to India, along with twenty-five Buddhist monks, and stayed in Kashmir about a year. There he studied Buddhist texts and the Sanskrit language.

The first clear reference to Kashmir<sup>3</sup> is contained in a record dating from A.D. 541. The notice is based on the account of an Indian envoy who reached China during the early part of the reign of the Tang dynasty. G. Pauthier<sup>4</sup>, who published the extract, has referred to Kashmir, the northern portion of India, as a country enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains, with a valley in the south which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup>Daud Mishkatī Kashmiri. Asrār ul-abrār ... 18th century?

<sup>2</sup>P.C. Bagchi. India and China. Calcutta, 1944. p.72.

<sup>3</sup>M.A. Stein. Rājataranginī of Kalhana. op. cit. Vol.2. p.354-6.

<sup>4</sup>G. Pauthier. Examen methodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchou ou l'Indie, Paris, 1839. p.40.

The points noticed here are exactly those which we meet in all Chinese accounts of Kashmir.

In A.D. 631 Kashmir was visited by Hiuen Tsiang<sup>1</sup>. He stayed there for two years and studied Sutras<sup>2</sup>, Sastras<sup>3</sup> and Buddhism.

The next Chinese notice of Kashmir<sup>4</sup>, and one which is of considerable historical interest, is contained in the Annals of the Tang dynasty. These mention the arrival at the imperial court of the first embassy from Kashmir, sent by King Tehen-t'o-lo-pi-li (in or shortly after A.D. 713), and that of another embassy sent by his brother Mu-to-pi. The description of Kashmir, which is coupled with the record of Tang Annals, appears to be in the main copied from Hiuen Tsiang's 'Si-yu-ki'.

Ou-Kong, another Chinese traveller, reached Kashmir in the year 759. He stayed for four years, engaged, as his itinerary<sup>5</sup> tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites, and in the study of Sanskrit. Ou-Kong was greatly inferior to Hiuen Tsiang in learning and observation. The itinerary contains reminiscences, in a very brief form, of forty years' wandering. But his account of Kashmir is far more detailed than that of any other territory visited by him.

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1. S. Beal. Si-yu-ki. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629). London, 1884.
  2. A rule or aphorism. A verse expressed in brief and technical language. The Sutras generally signify those rules which are connected with the Vedas, but there are Sutras on almost every subject.
  3. Any book of divine or recognised authority, but more especially the law-books.
  4. M. A. Stein. Rajatarangini ... . op. cit. Vol. 2: p. 357.
  5. L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong, Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1895. Serie 9, Vol. 6. p. 341.
- M. A. Stein. Rajatarangini ... . op. cit. 357-8.

He described the kingdom of Kashmir as enclosed on all sides by mountains. Among the routes which pierced them, he mentions those leading to Tibet in the east, Baltistan in the north and Gandhara in the West. Another route which he mentions is perhaps through Pir Panjal range on the south.

#### European travellers

Father Jerome Xavier<sup>1</sup>, a Portuguese of the Jesuit Mission, was the first European to visit Kashmir, in 1597. Father Xavier and Brother Goes accompanied Akbar when he visited Kashmir in 1597. Father Xavier has left some recollections of the natural beauty of Kashmir, its climate and difficulties of transport and communication. The letters are printed in 'The Akbar and the Jesuits', translated into English by Payne.

Francis Bernier<sup>2</sup>, a French physician, became the personal physician of Danishmand Khan ( a noble in the court and also Paymaster of the army during the reign of Emperor Jahangir). Jahangir visited Kashmir in 1665 and Danishmand Khan and Francis Bernier accompanied him. The memoirs of Bernier are included in his book entitled 'Travels in the Mogul empire'.

Father Ippolito Desideri<sup>3</sup> and Father Manoel Freyre. Both gave descriptions of their journeys to Kashmir and Tibet. Freyre returned to India and Desideri stayed on for five years, learning the language, translating books

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1. Jarric (Father Pierre Du) The Akbar and the Jesuits. Tr. by C.H. Payne ... . London, 1926.
  - F. Guerreiro. Jahangir and the Jesuits ... . London, 1930.
  2. M.D. Bernier. Travels in the Mogul empire, 1656-1668. Westminster, 1891.
  3. I. Desideri. An account of Tibet, 1579-1586. London, 1932.

and studying the country. His letters and journals from Lhasa are valuable for the information they give about Tibetan history and for their insight into the Lamaism of the country.

George Forster<sup>1</sup> was the next European to visit Kashmir. He was employed by the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras. He reached Kashmir in 1783 and recorded a picture of the places through which he passed and of the conditions which existed at that time. He described the state of tyranny that prevailed in Kashmir under Pathan rulers. He also tells us about the products of Kashmir and the dress of the people.

William Moorcroft<sup>2</sup>. After Forster the next European was William Moorcroft, who died of fever in August 1825. His papers were collected and edited, and they form a continuous and readable narrative.

Victor Jacquemont<sup>3</sup>. After Moorcroft the number of European visitors to Kashmir increased rapidly. The next traveller, a Frenchman, Victor Jacquemont, visited Kashmir, and his letters are mainly interesting for the vivid description of personalities.

Baron Charles Hugel<sup>4</sup>. He paid a visit to Kashmir in 1835, and left some account of Kashmirian characteristics, mountain roads, the effects of climate, impressions of nature and art, the scenery of the lakes, the panoramic view of the valley, military force, administration and

1. G. Forster. A journey from Bengal to England, through Kashmir ... . London, 1808.
2. W. Moorcroft. Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan ... Kashmir ... . By W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, from 1819-25. London, 1841.
3. V. Jacquemont. Letters from India, 1829-32. London, 1936.
4. Baron C. Hugel. Travels in Kashmir and Panjab. London, 1845.

justice etc.

G.T. Vigne<sup>1</sup>. His account of travels in Kashmir is quite useful. With his departure in 1839 Kashmir came into the possession of Gulab Singh, with which the modern period of Kashmir's history begins. At that time Kashmir became more accessible and many Europeans began visiting the area.

European scholars have made a great contribution in bringing to the notice of the world the past history of Kashmir by making use of the available material. Most of the credit goes to those who learnt the Sanskrit and Persian languages and translated the history books into English. There are still some Persian manuscripts which need to be translated into English. (See bibliography)

Political geography and topography of Kashmir

Mir Izzat Ullah<sup>2</sup>. Safar-nāmā-i Izzat Ullah, 1813. Diary of a journey from Attock to Bukhara via Kashmir ... undertaken by Mir Izzat Ullah in A.D. 1812-1813 on behalf of William Moorcroft. This is an authentic source describing the routes connecting Kashmir and India; Kashmir and the regions in the Central Asia through the passes in the mountains in the north and north-west. The Safarnama is available in the India Office Library, London. This has been partly translated by H.H. Wilson in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review, Vols. iii and iv, 1825.

1. G.T. Vigne. Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh ... London, 1842. 2vols.

2. Mir Izzat Ullah, Saiyyad. Safar-nāmā-i Izzat Ullah. Diary of a journey from Attock to Bukhara via Kashmir, Tibet ... undertaken by Izzat Ullah on behalf of William Moorcroft from A.D. 1812-1813. The India Office Library. Persian Mss. No. 2884.

A complete translation of Izzat Ullah's travels into English was published in Calcutta, 1872, by Captain Henderson.

In 1873, Major Charles Ellison Bates<sup>1</sup> compiled the gazetteer of Kashmir for political and military references of the British government. It is a unique book which includes Kishtwar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch, and the valley of the Kishen Ganga. It is a most valuable guide book, and includes a number of maps. It was published in Calcutta in 1873.

M.A. Stein<sup>2</sup> 'Memoirs on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kashmir,' Calcutta, 1899, is a remarkable contribution to the study of the political history of Kashmir.

### Architecture

The architectural wealth of Kashmir has attracted much attention from foreigners. The first to investigate it were Moorcraft and Trebeck in 1819-24, followed by G.T.Vigne in 1833, who also drew plans of the monuments and apportioned the probable dates of their construction. In 1848, General A. Cunningham<sup>3</sup> published his illustrated monograph in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' on the architecture of Kashmir, with plans and other details, and a supplement to this was published in 1866 in the same journal by Rev. W.C.Cowie<sup>4</sup>, Chaplain on duty in Kashmir. He described some old temples that had

1.C.E. Bates. Gazetteer of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1873.

2.M.A. Stein. Memoirs on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kashmir. Calcutta, 1899.

3.Arian Order of architecture in Kashmir. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1848. Vol.18, p.241-327.

4. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1866. Vol.36, p.91-93.

escaped the attention of his predecessors. In 1868, Lt. H.H.Cole<sup>1</sup>, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, made a fresh survey of the valley, drew fresh plans and other architectural details and took photographs which have since been very useful in the study of the style. The other scholars who did a close study of the various aspects of Kashmiri architecture were James Ferguson<sup>2</sup>, W.H. Nicholls<sup>3</sup>, Sir John Marshall<sup>4</sup> and Ram Chandra Kak<sup>5</sup>.

The investigations conducted by the local archaeologist, Pandit Ram Chandra Kak<sup>6</sup>, put to rest all the controversial issues advanced so far such as the age of the monuments and other relevant matters.

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1. Henry Hardy Cole. Illustrations from ancient buildings in Kashmir. London, 1869. p.31, plates.
  2. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. 2nd ed. rev. London, 1910. 2 vols.
  3. Archaeological Survey of India reports, Calcutta 1905-7.
  4. Notes on the archaeological work in Kashmir, Calcutta 1908.
  5. Antiquities of Maru-Wardwan. (Kashmir archaeological series, no.1 ). Srinagar, 1924.
  6. Ancient monuments of Kashmir. London, 1923.

LanguagesIntroduction

The official language of Jammu and Kashmir is Urdu. In the 6th Schedule of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, 1968, a number of languages have been specified as regional languages. These are Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Panjabi, Pahari and Ladakhi. Kashmiri and Dogri are the most important languages of the state, being spoken by 79% of the population.

According to the 1961 Census of India, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has a population of 3,560,976, and the following were the speakers of the languages along with their dialects forms:

Kashmiri	54.42%
Dogri	24.41%
Pahari unspecified	6.8%
Gujari	5.8%
Panjabi	3.06%
Ladakhi	1.48%

Urdu was returned as mother tongue by a total number of 12,445 (.03%) speakers in Jammu and Kashmir in the 1961 Census. According to the 11th report<sup>1</sup> of the Commissioner for linguistic minorities the state government's view is that Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi are not developed enough to be used for official purposes and it will take some time before notices, rules, etc., would be issued in these languages.

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1. Census of India, 1971. Language handbook on mother tongues in Census. Census centenary monograph no.10. New Delhi, 1972. p.289.



According to the same report of the Commissioner for linguistic minorities, simple Urdu in Persian and Devanagari scripts is the medium of instruction in Primary schools. Kashmiri, which, is the language of the majority, has been introduced as a language subject only and not the medium of instruction. The reason given for this is lack of text books and properly developed scripts for the language. According to the same report the pupils are to learn English and simple Urdu.

According to the language handbook<sup>1</sup> the consideration of finalising a script for Kashmiri language is very urgently necessary. "Since old traditions of Kashmiri literary activities are related to the use of Sharda script and since Sharda script is related to Devanagari the consideration of establishing Devanagari script as the official script for Kashmiri after due modification of the same to suit the phonetic exigencies of the language may also be considered".

#### Kashmiri script, language and literature<sup>2</sup>

Abu'l Fazl<sup>3</sup> said that "Kashmirians have a language

1. Census of India, 1971. Language handbook ... . op.cit. p.289.
2. Abdul Ahad Azad. Kashmīrī zabān aur sha'irī. Srinagar, 1963. 3 vols.
  - P.N.K. Bamzai. A history of Kashmir: political, social, cultural ... . Delhi, 1962. Chapters 8 and 17.
  - Census of India, 1971. Language handbook on mother tongues in Census ... . op.cit. p.286-290.
  - S.K. Chatterji. Languages and literature of Modern India. Calcutta, 1962. p.256-270.
  - G.A. Grierson. Linguistic survey of India. Calcutta. 11 vols. 1903-28. Vol.8(2). p.233-337.
  - J.L.Kaul. Studies in Kashmiri. Srinagar, 1968.
  - New Delhi. Sahitya Akademi. Contemporary Indian literature: a symposium. New Delhi. 1968. p.122-132.
  - G.M.D.Sufi. Kashmir: being a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to our own. Lahore, 1948. 2 vols. Vol.2. Chapter 8. p.343-500.
  - G.L.Tikku. Persian poetry in Kashmir 1339-1846. Berkeley, 1971.
3. Abū'l Fazl. Ain-i Akbari. Translated by H.S.Jarrett. Vol.2. p.147. Calcutta, 1927.

of their own but their books are written in the Sanskrit tongue, although the character is sometimes Cashmerian. They write chiefly on birch-bark, which is the bark of a tree; it easily divides into leaves, and remains perfect for many years".

### Script

There are three scripts in current use in the Kashmir valley, and they are the Persian, the Nagari or Devanagari, and the Sharda.

The Persian script is mostly used by Muslims. Some of the Hindus who have come under the influence of Persian education also use it. It was also the character employed by Christian Missionaries in writing books designed for natives of the country.

Persian was the official language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir from the Muhammadan to the end of the Sikh period. After the Sikh period Urdu took over and has continued as the official language of the state until today. The use of Persian script, therefore has been the most common in the state.

At present the Nagari character is mostly used by Hindus, and it was used by the Kashmiris before the 10th century A.D.

The Sharda script is the ancient indigenous character of Kashmir. It is like Nagari, being built on the same system, and corresponding with it letter by letter; but the forms of the letters differ greatly. It is generally used by Hindus, and it is known to have developed around the 10th century A.D. It fell into

disuse in Kashmiri, and at present its use is restricted to religious purposes.

J.L. Kaul<sup>1</sup> says that the Kashmiri language is full of vowel sounds and therefore the Persian and the Nagari scripts are not suitable for writing Kashmiri, but the Roman script is undoubtedly the best as it is simple in shape and easily written, and takes less time to write. He has explained it in detail on pages 1-26. On page 8 he says that "on all scientific and utilitarian considerations, the Roman alphabet is the best to adopt and Nagari the second best; and, secondly, that if there are other outweighing considerations in favour of Persian script, then we should not hesitate to introduce new symbols, and these new symbols should be letters rather than mere indicators".

#### Language and literature

The Kashmiri language is mainly spoken in the province of Kashmir. The language area of Kashmir covers approximately 10,000 square miles<sup>2</sup> while within the state of Jammu and Kashmir the Kashmiri language speakers are mainly concentrated in the district of Anantnag, Srinagar, Baramula, and Doda. Among the remaining districts of Jammu and Kashmir there is a moderate concentration of Kashmiri speakers in the districts of Udhampur and Poonch and in Jammu, Kathua and Ladakh district the number of Kashmiri speakers in 1961 Census was negligible.

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1. J.L. Kaul. Studies in Kashmiri. Srinagar, 1968. p.1-26.  
 2. Census of India, 1971. Language handbook ... . op. cit. p.286.

The word Kashmiri is derived from the Sanskrit word Kāśmirikā. Native speakers of Kashmiri call their language Kashoor. According to the currently accepted linguistic standards Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Aryan family of languages. It is most nearly related to Shina<sup>1</sup>, and the Kashmiri speakers say that Kashmiri is derived from Sanskrit.

The dialectical situation of Kashmir is not clear and needs specific investigation, yet the dialect spoken in the valley of Srinagar is generally considered the acceptable standard and is more or less commonly understood by the Kashmiri speakers of the entire state. For historical reasons the Kashmiri language appears to have been influenced by Sanskrit and Persian. For instance, the Kashmiri spoken by Muhammadans differs from that spoken by Hindus. To some extent Muslims derive their vocabulary from Persian, and Hindus from Sanskrit.

The Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic group of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like that of the Rigveda but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan), and who became established in the valley of Kashmir and in the surrounding mountain tracts. Very early, possibly from after the Vedic age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas.

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1. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic survey of India. op.cit. Vol.8(2). p.235.

Following the Brahmans, the Buddhists also came to Kashmir, and Kashmir formed a part of the Maurya empire of Ashoka; and beyond Kashmir, speakers of the Indo-Aryan dialect from North-West India settled round about Khotan (Kustana in Sanskrit). In this way, Kashmir, inspite of Dardic substratum in its people and in its speech, became a part of the Sanskrit culture-world of India. Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhraṃsha from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic base of Kashmiri, so that one may say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements.

Throughout the entire part of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the range of Sanskrit, and Kashmir scholars, particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made important contributions to the Sanskrit literature; the names of Damodar Gupta, Abhinavagupta, Kalhana, Bilhana etc. are very famous in the history of Sanskrit literature.

It is presumed that before the development of the Kashmiri language proper (which, as in the case of the other Aryan languages of India, took place after 1000 A.D.), there were a Prakrit and an Apabhraṃsha stage of Kashmiri. But there are no specimens<sup>1</sup> of what may be called Kashmiri Prakrit and a Kashmiri Apabhraṃsha. Only half a line in three words of what may be described as Kashmiri Apabhraṃsha<sup>2</sup> has been found

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1. S.K. Chatterji. Languages and literature ... . op.cit. p.256.

2. Ibid. p.257-58.

in Kalhana's Rajatarangini. It runs thus: Rangassa Helu dinna, which means that the village of Helu has been given to Ranga, and this in modern Kashmiri would be Rangas Hyulu dyun.

The early history of Kashmiri as a language, together with a study of its literature, has not yet been fully taken up. It has a small list of literary works, about which not much is known. The history of Kashmiri literature may be divided into the following three periods:

1. Old Kashmiri, from 1200 to 1500 A.D.
2. Middle Kashmiri, from 1500 to 1800 A.D.
3. New or Modern Kashmiri, after 1800 A.D.

#### Old Kashmiri

The earliest composition so far available in Kashmiri would appear to be the 94 four-line stanzas found in a Sanskrit work called the Mahānaya-prakāśa (illumination of the highest attainment or discipline) by Śitikanṭha. Grierson<sup>1</sup>, following a Kashmiri scholar, thought that this work belonged to the fourth quarter of the 15th century; but a closer study of the subject-matter as well as the language, with some internal evidence from the name and the title of the author, will go to show that the work is much older. Grierson made a linguistic study of these 94 stanzas, but still much remains to be done.

G.A. Grierson. The language of the Mahanaya-prakasha. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.11(2), 1929. pp.73-130.

- Śitikanṭha, Rājānaka. Mahānayaprakāśā ... . Srinagar, 1918.

Professor Pushp<sup>1</sup> has discovered another work of unknown date, the Chumma-sampradaya, in 74 verses, which in language and subject-matter also belongs to the age of the Mahānaya-prakāśa.

These two works give us the oldest specimens of Kashmiri, and they in all likelihood belong to a period before 1300.

In the 14th century, we have in Kashmir a great Saivite woman-saint, Lalla Didi or Lal Ded. Grierson thinks that she is the oldest<sup>2</sup> Kashmirian poetess whose works have come down to us. Hundreds of her verses are quoted all over the valley and are in everyone's mouth, and manuscript collections of them have from time to time been made under the Sanskrit title Lallavākyaṇī. Her verses are all religious and are strongly tinged with Siv-aite philosophy. Some 110 poems of Lalla Didi have been edited and translated by Sir G.A. Grierson, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1923. The sayings edited by Grierson commence with her own spiritual experience. She had wandered far and wide in search of truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places, and sought<sup>a</sup>/solution through formal religious ceremonies. Then suddenly she found it in her own home, her own soul. There she found her own self, which became to her the equivalent of a spiritual preceptor. Sir R. Temple has made a verse translation of her sayings under the title 'The word of Lall - the prophetess', Cambridge University Press, 1924.

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1. S.K. Chatterji. Language and literature ... . op.cit. p.259.
  2. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic Survey of India ... . op. cit. p.237.

Another great mystic poet and a Muslim saint was Nuruddin (1337-1438) founder of the Rishi order<sup>1</sup>. He was called Nand Rishi by Hindus. His sayings have been collected by Baba Nasim ud-Din under the title Nūr nāmā or Rishi nāmā.

Zainul Abidin ruled Kashmir from 1420-70. He was a great administrator and a patron of arts and literature. During his reign Utthasome composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, a biography of Zainul Abidin and a treatise on music called Manaka; an unknown poet wrote the Banasura-vadhā<sup>2</sup>, the first narrative poem so far known in Kashmiri.

Yodha Bhatta wrote a biography of Zainul Abidin entitled Jainaparakāśā. There was another Persian scholar, Bhaṭṭāvatāra, who composed in Kashmiri a work entitled Jainavilāsa on this royal patron of letters. These biographical and panegyrical works in Kashmiri now appear to have been lost<sup>3</sup>.

#### <sup>4</sup> Middle Kashmiri period from 1500 to 1800 A.D.

In the 16th century a very remarkable poetess 'Habba Khatun' came into the field of Kashmiri literature. Her place as a writer of exquisite lyrics of love and life is in the forefront of Kashmiri literature.

Among the more important writers of Kashmiri during

1. A monastic doctrine to be fulfilled through non-violence, love and ascetism. For detailed information see: D.J.F. Newall. Some account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmir. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.39, 1870. p.265-270.
2. G. Buhler. Report in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts. op. cit. p.90.
3. S.K. Chatterji. Languages ... . op. cit. p.260.
4. Habba Khatun. Edited by Ghulam Rasul Wani. Srinagar, Ghulam Muhammad Nur Muhammad, n.d.
- Amin Kamal. Habba Khatun. Srinagar, G.M.N. Muhammad, 1959.



the Mughal and Afghan periods were the following:-

Khawajah Habibullah Naushahri, who died in 1617, wrote a series of beautiful lyric poems in Kashmiri.

The Hindu poet Sahib Kaul, who lived during the time of Jahangir, wrote the Kṛṣṇa-avatāra and Janam carita, both on Hindu Puranic themes.

The poetess Rupa-bhavānī(1624-1720) wrote a number of religious poems; her language, as that of a Hindu religious writer, was highly Sanskritized.

Another great Kashmiri writer of love-lyrics was Arani-mal. She was the wife of a Kashmiri Brahmin Munshi Bhavanidas Kachru, who was a distinguished Persian scholar. She was deserted by her husband because of his love for other women.

In the 18th century, Prakasha Rama wrote the Ramayana in Kashmiri, known as Rāmāvatāra-carita, with a sequel Lava Kusha Yuddha carita. The Kashmiri Ramayana has been translated by Grierson, and was published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930.

During the 18th century and the earlier part of the 19th century, a number of Kashmiri poets wrote in imitation of Persian narrative poems, and also adapted many of the Persian classics into Kashmiri<sup>1</sup>.

#### Modern Kashmiri literature after 1800

Pandit Nanda Rama, alias Parmananda, (1791-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. His

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1. S.K. Chatterji. Languages ... . op.cit. 263.

poems were on the holy acts of divinities like Krishna and Siva. His bigger works are Rādhā-svayamvara, Sudama-carita, and the Siva lagan.

~~Kṛṣṇa~~Rājanaka, called Rāzdān was another distinguished Hindu poet of this period. A disciple of Parmananda, he wrote in beautiful Kashmiri, and he is pre-eminent both in his description of nature and in the musical quality of his verse. His most important work is Śiva-parinaya ( or the wedding of Śiva), edited from Calcutta by Grierson in 1924.

There is another Hindu classic of Kashmiri, the Kṛṣṇa-vatāra-līlā of Dīnā-nātha (published in 1928 by Grierson from Calcutta in the Roman character with an English translation). It is in 1178 four-line stanzas, and the stories about Lord Krishna taken from Bhāgavata Purāṇa have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Abdul Wahhab Pare was another great Kashmiri writer of the modern period. He was born in 1845 and died in 1913. He made an adaptation from the Persian into Kashmiri of the Shāh-nāmah Firdausī, and he translated the Akbarnāmah which is a historical work in Persian relating to the wars in Afghanistan. He also wrote a number of short stories, didactic as well as relating to love, and he also composed a large number of small poems on various subjects.

There was also Ramzan Bāṭh, who wrote the most popular version of the story of Akhnandan or the only son. It is an old Hindu religious tale about the loving parents of an only son being compelled by a religious

vow to put him to death and even cook his flesh as an offering to a religious mendicant (Yogi) who demanded this sacrifice. But afterwards the son was restored to life after the parents' devotion was tested in this way.

The most recent period of Kashmiri literature was inaugurated by the poet Pirzadah Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (born 1885). His poems are lyrical and patriotic as well as on political subjects. All the Kashmiris sing songs composed by him. The partition of India in 1947 gave rise<sup>1</sup> to interest in the themes of patriotism, human freedom, love of men and women, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work. All these and natural beauty etc. are found in the poems of Mahjur.

Zinda Kaul, born 1884, is a social reformer, and is also a mystic, and he writes in the popular language. One of his verse compositions, the Sarman (remembrance) was awarded a Sahitya Akademi prize from New Delhi in 1956.

The most note-worthy poets of present-day Kashmiri are, among others, the following:

Abdul Ahmad Azad; Dina-nath Nadim; Rahman Rahi, born 1925, was awarded the Delhi Sahitya Akademi prize in 1962 for his book of poems the Nauroz-i Saba, which is remarkable for its bold experimentation in poetic technique and freshness of imagery; Mir Kamil; Chala Rasul Nazki; Abdul Haq Barq; Nur Muhammad Roshan; Dina Nath Nadim, etc. Dina Nath Nadim is a revolutionary in literature, with a sympathy for the suffering masses forcefully expressed in his writings.

The following Kashmiri books have won the Sahitya

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1. New Delhi. Sahitya Akademi. Contemporary Indian literature. op. cit. pp.126-27.

Akademi awards as the books on Kashmiri literature for the respective years.

Ali Muhammad. Suyya. Kashmiri drama, 1972, won him Sahitya Akademi award of the year; and Mohiuddin Hajini's Maqālāt won him Sahitya Akademi award of 1970 as the best book of the year. This book is in the form of essays on Kashmiri language and literature.

Only a few books are published each year on Kashmiri language and literature and there is hardly anything being published in prose.

#### European scholars

Towards the end of the nineteenth century some noteable contributions were made to the Kashmiri literature by Europeans. Particularly notable is Rev. T.R.Wade, who compiled a Kashmiri grammar in 1888. Rev. J.Hinton Knowles collected a number of Kashmiri proverbs and riddles and published them along with English translations, notes and comments in Bombay, 1885. Knowles also published a collection of Kashmiri Folk tales in Kashmir in English, London, 1893.

#### In 1879 the Pandit Išvara

Kaula completed an excellent grammar of Kashmiri, in Sanskrit and entitled the Kaśmīrasabdāmṛita. This was edited by Grierson, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. Išvara Kaula was engaged on a Kashmiri-Sanskrit dictionary at the time of his death in 1893. The materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently given to Grierson, and a dictionary of Kashmiri language was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1932.

Sir G.A. Grierson was a great scholar, and he published about 19 books and articles on Kashmiri language and literature.

Other Europeans who made some contribution to the study of Kashmiri language and literature were W.J. Elmslie<sup>1</sup>, R.C.B. Leech<sup>2</sup>, and G.W. Leitner<sup>3</sup>.

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1. A vocabulary of Kashmiri language in 2 parts. Kashmiri-English and English-Kashmiri. London, 1872.
  2. A grammar of Cashmeeree language. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol.13, 1844. p.397-420 and 553-570.
  3. A specimen of Kashmiri ... . Bombay, 1872.

## Dogri language and literature<sup>1</sup>

The Dogri language is mainly spoken in Jammu, and most of those who come from this area are called Dogras. According to the 1961 Census of India there are 879,748 Dogri speakers all over India.

Dogri was included among dialects of Panjabi in the Linguistic Survey of India<sup>2</sup>. This position is now disputed by linguists, but no research seems to have been done on this point so far. According to the language handbook on mother tongues<sup>3</sup>, Dogri and Kangri dialects show much closeness to Western Pahari and it may be more appropriate to consider Dogri and Kangri as a combined sub-group of dialects in the Western Pahari region. However, this position needs verification.

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1. Most of the books and articles on this subject began to be published only after 1947, and this is the real start of its history and literature in the printed form. Before 1947 fewer people could read and write and printing facilities were not widely available. All the literature published on this subject is not available in England, and I have summarised all the information I obtained from the following sources. For further information consult these sources and also the bibliographical section. According to the Indian National Bibliography and the Library of Congress lists, thirty books or so are published at present in or about Dogri every year.

### Sources:

- Census of India, 1971. Language handbook ... . op. cit.
  - G.A. Grierson. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol.9(1), p.637-45.
  - Lakshmi Narain and Sansar Chand. Introduction to Dogri folk literature and Pahari art. Jammu, 1965.
  - N.D. Sharma. Dogri lok gīt. (Folk songs). Vols. 1-9. 1964-72.
  - N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965.
2. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic Survey ... . op. cit. p.637.
3. Census of India, 1971. Language handbook ... . op.cit.p.63.

There are a number of theories regarding the origin of the word Dogra<sup>1</sup>, but the most acceptable of them is that the word is derived from Duggar, and Duggar from Durgar, which means hard and taxing; and the word Durgar appears to have been the ancient name of the Dogra country.

Popular opinion also looks upon the word Duggar as a corruption of Sanskrit word Dvigarat, meaning the two cavities, and seeks to substantiate it with a reference to the presence of two lakes namely, Saroinisar and Mansar in the district of Jammu.

Dogri takes its name from Dogras, the title of the submountainous portion of the Jammu state. This portion of the Jammu state has to its north the hill country of Jammu separating it from Kashmir, in which a variety of dialects<sup>2</sup>, such as Rambani and Poguli, intermediate between Dogri and Kashmiri, are spoken. These dialects in many respects closely resemble Dogri. In the hills in the north-east of the Jammu state lies Bhadarwah, the language of which is Bhadarwahi, a form of Pahari. To the east of Jammu lies Chamba. The main language of Chamba, Chameali, is also a form of Pahari; but a mixed form of speech called Bhateali, which is based on Dogri, is spoken in the west of the state,

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1. For different theories and detailed information see Lakshmi Narain and Sansar Chand. Introduction to Dogri folk literature and Pahari art. op.cit. p.3-14
  2. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic ... . op.cit. p.637-8.

near the Jammu Frontier. South of Jammu lie the districts of Sialkot (Pakistan) and Gurdaspur(India), the main language of which is Panjabi. Dogri is, however, spoken along the northern border of these districts. South-east of Jammu lies the district of Kangra; here a Pahari dialect is spoken which is closely allied to Dogri. To the west of Jammu city runs the river Chenab, beyond which lies the Naushahra country. Dogra extends a few miles beyond the Chenab. Further on we come to the hill dialects connected with the northern form of Lahnda<sup>1</sup>.

It is clear from the above remarks, that Dogri is bounded on the south by standard Panjabi, on the east and north-east by Pahari, on the north by the hill dialects, and on the west by Lahnda.

There are three sub-dialects of Dogri<sup>2</sup>. These are Kandiali, the Kangra dialect, and Bhateali. Kandiali is a mixture of standard Panjabi and Dogri spoken in the hills of the north-east of Gurdaspur. The Kangra dialect is the main language of the head-quarters tehsils of Kangra district, and Bhateali is spoken in Western Chamba. Like Kandiali, the Kangra dialect is a mixture of Dogra and Standard Panjabi, with also a few peculiarities of its own, while Bhateali is a mixture of Dogri, Kangri and Chameali.

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1. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic survey of India ... . op.cit. p.638. Lahnda is a language of the North-Western group of the outer Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the Western Panjab(Pakistan) and the North-Western Frontier province(Pakistan). Almost all the Lahnda speaking people are in Pakistan now.
  2. Lakshmi Narain and Sansar Chand. Introduction to Dogri folk literature ... . op. cit. p.13.



Dogri<sup>1</sup> and Panjabi have some common words because of their close intercourse, but Dogri also has some resemblance to the other languages of the Western Pahari group while Panjabi shares no similiarity with them. Thus it stands to reason that Dogri and other languages of Western Pahari group have a common origin which is different from that of Panjabi.

The main difference between Dogri<sup>2</sup> and Panjabi consist in the change in oblique form of the noun substantive, and in the employment of a different <sup>Dogri</sup> postposition for the accusative dative case. The vocabulary, too, differs somewhat, being influenced by Lahnda and especially Kashmiri. As regards the oblique form, all Dogri masculine nouns add a short e or ai in the singular to the nominative, while feminine nouns add d, thus following the example of northern Lahnda. For the accusative dative case, the usual suffix is ki or gi, instead of the Panjabi nū. In Kangra an alternative suffix is io. Dogri also prefers the word thā, meaning 'was', instead of the more usual sa or sā or sī of standard Panjabi.

The literary tradition in Dogri goes back as far as the reigns of Maharaja Ranjit Dev<sup>3</sup> and Maharaja Ranbir Singh<sup>4</sup>. Maharaja Ranjit Dev was a brother of the great-grand father of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh was the son

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1. Lakshmi Narain and Sansar Chand. Introduction to Dogri folk literature ... . op.cit. p.13-14.
  2. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic survey ... . op.cit. p.639.
  3. Ranjit Dev was Maharaja of Jammu from 1750-1781.
  4. After Gulab Singh's death on July 28, 1857, Ranbir Singh was installed as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

of Gulab Singh. Maharaja Gulab Singh could hardly find breathing space from his martial campaigns to take up any literary enterprise. Therefore it is convenient to consider the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh as a starting point for the Dogri literature. The period before that, from the literary point of view, is enveloped in obscurity. Only one poem of Ranjit Dev's time is available. This poem, composed by the poet Devi Ditta, called Dattu, is available in written form<sup>1</sup>. Again it was in Ranbir Singh's time that an attempt was made to install Dogri as the state's official language, but unfortunately there were not many literary figures at that time who wrote in Dogri.

The real work in Dogri prose, poetry, drama etc. started after 1947, and since then almost all the books have been published in Devanagari script.

Dr. Karan Singh<sup>2</sup> has done a lot in the advancement of Dogra culture and literature. He holds Dogri mushaira (recitation by poets) every year on Baisakhi day (Hindu solar new year day) in his palace in Jammu to encourage Dogri language and literature. He has also translated into English some 25 Dogri songs, mostly folk songs, in his book Sunlight and shadow, Bombay, 1962.

### Dogri script

The Dogra people had a script which was very imperfect. It had all the letters found in Devanagari except a few which were not employed in the vernacular language.

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1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.22.

2. Karan Singh was born on 9.3.1931; son of Hari Singh (last Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir).

The script resembled the Takri script used in the adjoining state of Chamba (Himachal Pradesh). There is no proof of Dogri ever being printed in type of its own character. Persian characters were used to write in Dogri. Maharaja Ranbir Singh tried to bring it nearer to Devanagari, which has completely overshadowed it now.

### Development of Dogri literature<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh<sup>2</sup> (1857-1885), steps were taken to teach Urdu, Persian, Sanskrit and English. Dogri was given special attention. Almost all the official work was carried out in Dogri, and every government servant was expected to learn Dogri or faced with a ten percent deduction from his pay. The Maharaja modernised the Dogri script by borrowing Devanagari characters. Some books were written and translated into Dogri. Dandh vidhi (penal code) was translated; the manual about drill was also written. Applications were written and firmans (orders) issued in Dogri.

In the reigns of Maharaja Pratap Singh and Hari Singh the Dogri language did not receive much attention.

In 1943 a Dogri Sanstha was formed in Jammu to encourage and spread literary activities of Dogri writers. After the partition of India in 1947, Dogri writers composed songs in praise of their country to voice their sentiments of patriotism.

In 1948 a Radio station was set up to inform the people about the day-to-day situation in the battlefield on

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1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature.

Jammu, 1965. p.3-20.

2. Ibid. p.155-7.

the Jammu and Kashmir border. It was also meant to cater for the cultural needs of the people, and Dogri being the regional language, many of the programmes broadcasted were in Dogri.

In 1953, Ram Nath Shastri wrote a pamphlet 'Arguments in favour of Dogri as the medium of instruction' in the primary schools in Jammu province. Children could choose to learn any other language if their mother tongue was not Dogri. Later on in 1955-56 a Committee was formed and it submitted its report that Dogri and Kashmiri were to be taught as compulsory subjects in the primary schools, and that both these languages should be developed.

In 1958 the Sadar-i Riyasat by an ordinance set up an Academy of Art, Culture and Languages with a view to bringing about co-ordination between the various Academies functioning in the field of music, art and literature, and to promote the growth and development of the regional language of the state. The Academy has published some important books on Dogri poetry, folk lore, proverbs, prose and literature. Most of the Academy publications are in Dogri, Hindi, Kashmiri, Persian, Urdu and Panjabi languages. The Academy has issued<sup>1</sup> over 100 publications, and a complete catalogue can be had from the Academy.

### Earlier poets<sup>2</sup>

Devi Ditta, called Dattu. He wrote poems in Braj Bhasha. His famous Braj Bhasha poems are Vīr Vilās,

1. Mohinder Singh. Learned institutions in India. Ahmedabad, Balgovind Prakashan, 1969, p. 151-2.

2. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.22-30.

- R.N. Shastri. Niharika ... . Jammu, 1959. For detailed information consult this book.

Bārā māh, and Kamal netra satotra. The Kamal netra satotra is famous all over northern India.

There is only one poem of Dattu available in Dogri, and his fame in Dogri rests on this single poem entitled 'Killiyā battanā chorī ditta'. (It means 'I have stopped going to the well all alone to bring water'). This depicts scene at a village where women used to go out to the well to fetch drinking water. It also portrays the feelings of a young bride and the psychology of the villagers. The bride went alone to fetch water, the villagers, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law started doubting her character, and in order to remove their doubts she stopped going alone and started going in the company of other females.

Shiv Ram was the son of Nand Ram, the younger brother of Devi Ditta. He wrote some verses in Braj Bhasha. One of his poems, a mixture of Dogri and Braj Bhasha is still available. It is an invocation to Goddess Gauri, the consort of Lord Shiva. It has neither the finish nor the maturity of Dattu.

Trilochan, the grandson of Dattu, translated a portion of the Mahabharata into Dogri under the title of Niti Vinod.

Rudra Datta was the grandson of Nand Ram, the younger brother of poet Dattu. One incomplete portion of his poem in Dogri has been found. The poem has the style of Braj Bhasha (dialect of Hindi), and is a conscious effort to imitate it in Dogri language. It throws some light on the rule and personality of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

Pandit Ganga Ram (1777 A.D. - 1858 A.D.) He was well

known scholar of Sanskrit language and literature, and Hindu law. He translated Sanskrit books into Hindi and his Ranbir Praishchat (penance of Ranbir) is a large volume of over 1000 pages. He also wrote poems in Braj Bhasha. Only one of his Dogri poems has been found, and the poem is about life in Kandhi. Pandit Ganga Ram was born and brought up in Kandhi and therefore he knew the place well. It describes daily life, and the portrayal is very intimate.

Ralla Ram Dhan lived in Akhnoor of Jammu province during the reign of Pratap Singh (1885-1925). He was a goldsmith by profession, but he used to write poetry in Dogri, Panjabi, and Poorbi ( a dialect of Brajbhasha). Unfortunately most of his poems are lost.

Ram Dhan is known as the author of a Dogri poem entitled Chana dī chāndanī, which is full of romance, domestic life and devotional verses.

### Modern poetry<sup>1</sup>

The early Dogri poetry was confined to the love of the land and its people. The decade between 1940-1950 can be called the period of patriotism in Dogri poetry.

Ved Paul Dip born <sup>in</sup> 1929. Bapu de Sanghi Kaput (dishonourable Sanghi sons). Sanghi means Rashtriya Sevak Sangh - a political party). This poem is on politics and daily life. It is a severe indictment of the creed and functions of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh. Some of Dip's poems have been collected and edited by Dinoo Bhai Pant under the title Madhukan, Jammu, Cultural Academy Publication, 1959. Ved Paul Dip started his career by writing poems in Hindi and after 1947 he started writing in Dogri as well.

1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.33-152.

Hardutt Shastri (1890-1956). He is the first modern poet of consciousness in Dogri in whose writing the social, economic and religious problems found expression. Some of his poems are: Merā des (my country), Dogrādes (Dogra country), Fashion, Bekārī (unemployment), Mātrī bhāshā (mother tongue). The poems are full of moral indignation. Some of these poems are included in Niharika, edited by R.N. Shastri, Jammu, 1959. His last poem in Dogri is Phut mere dese de kālā di nīsānī ai. (Disunity is the sign of death of India). It condemns the communal riots of India. He wrote in a metre which belongs to Hindi and is based on the popular tunes of Panjabi songs.

R.N. Shastri. Born in 1915. He retired as a Professor of Sanskrit in Maulana Azad Memorial College, Jammu. He started his literary career as a short story writer in Hindi and wrote one-act plays, prose, songs and essays. He was the Secretary of the Hindi Sahitya Mandal and did a lot for the cause of Hindi.

His Dogri poems were first published along with others in Jāga Duggar, an anthology of Dogri poetry, Jammu, 1944. He is a critic, an essayist, a poet, story writer and dramatist. He has also translated a few classics into Dogri: Meghaduta of Kalidasa, Shatak and vairagya shatak of Bharatirihari, and a few plays and Gitānjali of Tagore.

Ram Lal Sharma. He wrote Dogri poetry after the age of 55. His first collection of Dogri poems entitled Kiran was published in 1964 in Jammu. It contains about 50 poems. His poetry is devotional and patriotic

and describes hills and mountains. He has also written some short stories. His style is lucid and his expression is clear.

Parmanand Almast. Born in 1901. His poetry is confined mostly to subjects pertaining to hilly areas. Most of his poetry is to the tunes and in the metres of folk songs. He added quite a number of new poems to his old stock and published them as Jhunak, Jammu, 1963.

Kehari Singh Madhukar. Born in 1929. He is a revolutionary poet. His poems were first published under the title Namīyāñ minjarāñ ( collection of new trends in Dogri poetry). He introduced ghazal (lyric) in Dogri poetry. He is in touch with the new trends in the literatures of other Indian languages, and has quite successfully combined those trends in Dogri poetry.

Madhukar has also published his collection of poems Dola Kun thappyā, Jammu, 1963. These poems have richness, sweetness, and maturity. He has also published sādhā sāhitva, Jammu, 1969, an anthology of Dogri prose and poetry.

Tara Smailpuri. Born in 1926. His poetry is like that of Dinoo Bhai Pant because their poetry deals with human problems. He has written some poems in Dogri on female dress, a stay in Kandhi, unemployed youth etc. Some of his poems have published in Yojana ( a journal). He has also written a book on Dogri proverbs, entitled Dogri muhāvarā kośa, Jammu, 1966. This is a very useful work for compiling a Dogri dictionary and grammar.



His Dogri kahāvat kośa, Jammu, 1962, is also a useful addition to Dogri literature on Dogri proverbs.

Dinoo Bhai Pant. Born in 1917. His main purpose of writing is to make people conscious of changing times. The evils of slavery and autocracy were to be thrown out, for the life of slavery was much worse than death. His Vīr Gulāb was published in Jammu, 1945. The poem symbolize the bravery, nobility and grandeur of Maharaja Gulab Singh. In his poem Dādī te mām, Jammu, 1947, he emphasizes that Hindi is like a mother to Dogri and gives a constructive and conciliatory approach to the problem of Hindi and Dogri. His Mangu di chhabil, Jammu, 1944-5, tells the story of a young Mangu who loses everything to a capitalist exploiter; he avenges his loss by burning the capitalist's house and disappears into the darkness. His Gutlū, Jammu, 1945, is a collection of ironic and humorous poems.

Swami Brahmanand, 1891-1962. He started his career as a clerk and during this period his wife died. After the death of his wife he left the service, became a Sanyasi and changed his name to Swami Brahmanand. His real name was Sansar Singh. His poetry is full of moral and spiritual values and is rendered in simple and effective style. Six collections of his poems have been published under the titles, Gunge da gur, Mān sarovar, Gupt gangā, Amrit varshā, Dogri bhajan mālā, Shri Brahm saṅkirtan, 1957. Most probably these anthologies were published in Jammu, but their dates of publication are not known.

Padma Saçdeva is a young poetess whose anthology of Dogri poems Merī kavītā mere gīt, New Delhi, 1969, has won her a Sahitya Academy award for the best anthology of Dogri poems of the year.

### Short story<sup>1</sup>

Bhagwat Prasad Sathe. Born in 1910. He is an astrologer and palmist by profession. He was associated with Hindi Sahitya Mandal and wrote Hindi short stories. His Pehlā phūl, a collection of short stories was the first published prose work in Dogri. In his short stories he has touched all aspects of Dogri life.

Ram Kumar Abrol. Born in 1930. First he wrote in Urdu, but at present writes in both Urdu and Dogri. In his Pairan de nishān, Jammu, 1959, a collection of short stories, he gives picture of rural atmosphere and the social scene. His other short story collections: Phūl bane angāre and Meriyān kahāniyān meriyān kavītān, depict the same rural atmosphere and social scene. His language is a mixture of Dogri and Urdu. The date and place of his other publications is not traceable.

Narendra Khajuria, 1933-1970. He wrote about the people he met and saw. He has published some collections of short stories and a novel, Shano. His collection of short stories Kole diyān lakirān, Jammu, 1959, was his first collection of short stories. His Nau kahāniyān (nine short stories) was published in Jammu, 1968. He has also published Sat Dogri nātak (seven Dogri plays) in Jammu, 1966. A memorial issue of Namīm cetanā (Dogri fortnightly) was published by Dogri Sanstha, Jammu, 1971

1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.155-210.

on the life and works of Khajuria.

Ved Rahi. Born in 1933. He has published short stories and novels. His Kāle hath, a collection of short stories was published in 1958. All his short stories are stories of character, although his characters are actuated by certain ideas of love, money and labour. He has also written two Dogri novels (1) Mallāh berī te patan, and (2) Hara berī te patan, Jammu, 1968.

Madan Mohan Sharma. Born 1934. He is usually known as Madan Mohan. He started his career as a short story writer in Urdu. All his stories depict social and domestic life. He is also a social reformer through his writings. Khirlā manū (last man) is his first collection of short stories, published in Jammu by Dogri Sanstha in 1959. He has also written a Dogri novel entitled Dhārānte Dūārñ. (hills and mists), Jammu 1962. His recent works are: Janaur ( a Dogri play), Jammu, 1970; Dudha, Lahu Jaihra, ( a collection of short stories) Jammu, 1971; and Ik janam hor ( seven radio plays), Jammu, 1971.

### Plays<sup>1</sup>

All the plays are in one way or the other concerned with social customs and reforms. A number of people started writing Dogri one-act plays with the national movement for regional languages in India. Earlier, plays were written in Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi. Mr. Vishwanath Khajuria and Mr. D.C. Prashant wrote the first Dogri one-act plays, and in 1948, at a political conference held at Tikkri (33 miles from Jammu), the first play in Dogri was staged. The play entitled, Bāwā jito

1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.210-226.

was written by Professor Ram Nath Shastri. It was the dramatisation of the life story of the great peasant saint. After that Vishwanath Khajuria, D.C. Prashant, Ved Rahi, R.N. Shastri, and N. Khajuria wrote more one-act plays. Dinoo Bhai Pant, Ram Kumar Abrol and R.N. Shastri wrote together Namā grām. Ved Rahi wrote Daren de athroo. R.N. Shastri wrote Sār and Dinoo Bhai wrote Sarpanch. Almost all the above mentioned plays in Dogri have been staged but only a few of them have been published<sup>1</sup>.

Namā grām (new village) by R.N. Shastri, Dinoo Bhai Pant and Ram Kumar Abrol, Jammu, 1957. It covers the message that the joint efforts of the people can lead to prosperity and happiness in the village. The problems of untouchability, feudalism exploitation, superstition and ignorance are exposed and nicely dealt with. This play was staged in almost all the dialects and towns of Jammu.

Ved Rahi. Dhāren de athru, Jammu, 1959. This play conveys the message that older people marrying much younger girls and reciprocal marriages among poor and illiterate people are not desirable at present, and people should be awakened to shatter these old and evil customs.

Dinoo Bhai Pant, Sarpanch<sup>2</sup>, depicts a family feud about the division of the property and highlights the role and significance of Panchayat system.

### Novels

Novels are the last to emerge in the literary scene

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1. N.D. Sharma. An introduction to modern Dogri literature. Jammu, 1965. p.211-212.

2. Ibid. p.221.

of Dogri because they require a fuller grasp over the details of life, a mature vision and the extensive development of the resources of a language.

So far the important novelists in the field of Dogri are Narendra Khajuria, Vedi Rahi, Madan Mohan Sharma and D.C. Prashant. Narendra Khajuria's Shano, Ved Rahi's Hār berī te patan, present a village life and the ugly realities of the social set-up.

### Dogri folk literature<sup>1</sup>

Dogri folk literature is as old as Dogras and has all that a folk literature should possess both in form and material. It has two forms, prose and verse. In prose form we have short stories, proverbs, and riddles. The verse form of Dogri folk literature is much richer and more varied. It may be classified as Ballads and lyrics.

Ballads describe love, devotion, popular themes of heroism etc. The most prominent Dogri lyrics are those of love, religion, ceremony, dance, festivals, heroism, and the seasons.

Folk songs have an oral tradition and are going on from generation to generation. It is only recently that people have started collecting and publishing them. For example: Noriko Mayeda and W.Norman Brown - Tawi tales: folk tales from Jammu, New Haven, 1974. A collection of 79 folk-tales translated into English. Karan Singh, Shadow and sunlight: an anthology of Dogra Pahari songs, Bombay, 1962. N.D. Sharma, comp. Dogri lok gīt. Dogri folk songs. Vol.1-7. 1964-74. In progress.

1. Lakshmi Narain & Sansar Chand. An introduction to Dogri folk literature ... . op.cit. p.17-19.

## Pahari languages<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of the sub-Himalayan hills from Western Kashmir to Eastern Nepal are known as Pahari. Pahari means 'people of the mountains'. This term indicates the groups of mountain languages extending from the Bhadravah, north of the Panjab, to the eastern parts of Nepal. To its north and east various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kashmiri and Western Panjabi, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjab and the Gangetic plain, viz:- in order from West to East, Panjabi, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihari.

The Pahari languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme east there is Khas-Kura or Eastern Pahari, commonly called Nepali (the Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal). Next, in Kumaon and Garhwal (Uttar Pradesh) there are the Central Pahari languages, Kumauni and Garhwali. Finally in the west we have the Western Pahari languages spoken in Jaunsar-Bawar (Uttar Pradesh), the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chamba (Himachal Pradesh), and Western Kashmiri.

Gujari, the language of the Gujars, is also a part of Western Pahari. Gujars wander over the hills of Hazara, Murree, Swat, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and its vicinity.

The following notes will exclude Eastern and Central Pahari languages and will discuss only those Western Pahari languages which are spoken in Jammu and Kashmir.

Western Pahari is the Aryan language spoken in that part of the Sub-Himalayas extending from the Jaunsar-Bawar  
G.A.Grierson. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol.9(4) ... .  
op.cit.

tract of the district of Dehra Dun to Bhadrawah in the Northern Panjab. To its east lies Garhwal, in which the language is Garhwali from the Central Pahari. To its north lies the Mid-Himalaya, the few inhabitants of which speak Tibeto-Burman languages, To its south it has on the eastern side the Hindustani of Dehra Dun and Ambala, and, further west, Panjabi. To its west, in order from south to north, it has standard Panjabi, the Kangara and Dogri dialects of that language, and in the extreme north-west Kashmiri.

The following, alphabetically arranged, Western Pahari dialects or languages spoken in Jammu and Kashmir show their connection with each other and their relation to other languages.

Bhadrawahi and Bhalesi are both spoken in Bhadrawah, a town in Jammu and Kashmir. They exhibit some points of connection with Kashmiri, but they belong distinctly to the Panjabi-Hindi type. Bhalesi is a form of Bhadrawahi, spoken in Bhales, a valley a few miles to the east of the town of Bhadrawah.

Gujari is very closely allied to the Mewari dialect of Rajasthani spoken in Mewar(Rajasthan). Gujars in Hazara and Jammu and Kashmir state speak the same dialect, and Gujars living in the plains of the Panjab speak Panjabi. In the Census of India 1971, Language handbook on mother tongues in Census, page 82, Gujari has been classified with Rajasthani. There are 209,327 speakers according to the 1961 Census of India.

Kishtawari is spoken in and near the village of

Kishtawar. It is a dialect of Kashmiri, which it closely resembles. According to the Census of India 1961, there were 11,633 speakers.

Padari is a dialect spoken in the east of Kishtawar on the banks of river Chinab. It resembles to some extent Pangwali, which is spoken in Pangl, in the north of the Chamba state. According to the 1961 Census of India there were 6,359 speakers.

Poguli language is spoken over a small tract of country to the east of Rāmsūh which is 18 miles South of the Banihal Pass. It resembles Kashmiri, though it is quite unintelligible to the speakers of that language. Most Pogul people know some Kashmiri. Nearly all the peculiarities of Kashmiri are found in a modified form in Poguli, which being a border language contains also a number of points in common with dialects which look to Panjabi as their source of vocabulary. According to the Census of India 1961 there are 9,508 speakers.

Punchi is derived from the name of a town. This dialect is connected with Lahnda, though in some points it follows Panjabi. It has some vocabulary borrowed from Kashmiri. There are 12,710 speakers according to the 1961 Census of India.

Siraji-Kashmiri is spoken in the country north of Chinab between Ramban and Bharat on the way to Kishtawar. It is centred on the large village of Doda in the South-West of Kishtawar. Its general framework is like the Panjabi group of languages. According to the Census of India 1961, it is classified under the Dardic group of



the Indo-Aryan languages and its speakers number 19,978.

Written character

All over the Western Pahari area the written character is some form or other of the Takri alphabet, but the Nagari and Persian characters are also used by the educated. The name of the Takri alphabet is most probably derived from Takka, the name of a powerful tribe which once ruled this part of the country, and whose capital was the famous Sakala, lately identified as modern Sialkot(Pakistan).

The Takri alphabet is closely connected with the Sardā alphabet of Kashmiri and with the Lahnda, or the alphabet current in the Panjab and Sind. It is built on the same lines as Nagari.

Alphabetical list of minor languages spoken in Jammu and Kashmir according to the Census of India 1971.

Name of Mother tongue	Family/Group affiliation	No. of speakers in Jammu and Kashmir
Afghani/Kabuli/Pakhto/Pashto/Pathani.	Eastern-Iranian	2,244
Askardi	Tibeto-Burman Bhotia group.	1
Banathi	Unclassified	52
Bakerwali	Unclassified	5,941
Balti	Tibeto-Burman Bhotia group	33,570
Bhadrawahi	Indo-Aryan Sub-family Pahari group.	33,533
Bhalesi	Bhalesi is included in Bhadrawahi group of Western Pahari.	175
Bilni	Unclassified	10
Boria	Unclassified	208
Brokpa	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	544
Budhi	Tibeto-Burman sub-family Bhotia group	2,764
Bunjwali	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic group	550
Champa	Tibeto-Burman sub-family Bhotia group	1
Chetori	Unclassified	2
Dakani/Musalmani	Indo-Aryan sub-family Central group	250
Dardi	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	6,998
Darwi	Unclassified	88
Desbadi	Unclassified	388
Deshi	Unclassified	234

Deswayi	Unclassified	616
Gilgiti	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	76
Gujari	Indo-Aryan sub-family Central group	209,327
Jord	Unclassified	1
Kaghani	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic group	152
Kalwi	Unclassified	1
Khasal	Unclassified	778
Khasbodi	Unclassified	7
Kishtwari	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	11,633
Kohistani	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	81
Kumdari	Unclassified	1
Ladakhi	Tibeto-Chinese family Bhotia group	50,146
Ladhari	Unclassified	230
Logli	Unclassified	2
Madwali	Unclassified	30
Marajee	Unclassified	16
Mehari	Unclassified	4
Mirpuri	Western Panjabi	98
Ordial	Unclassified	13
Padari	Indo-Aryan sub-family Pahari group. Padari is after the name of a geographical area in Jammu and Kashmir.	6,359
Pathlu	Unclassified	45
Poguli	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	531
Rowdhari	Unclassified	531

Rowdhari	Unclassified	531
Sarodi	Unclassified	1,354
Shina	Indo-Aryan sub-family Dardic branch	856
Siraji- Kashairi	Kului group of dialects in Western Pahari.	19,978

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Newspapers<sup>1</sup> in Jammu and Kashmir state in 1977.

According to the Press in India, 1977, the literacy rate in the state in 1971 was 18.30 percent<sup>2</sup>, and the largest number of papers was published in Urdu. The oldest existing newspaper in the state is Amar, an Urdu weekly published in Jammu since 1930.

Bilingual and Multilingual	13
Dogri	2
English	19
Hindi	5
Kashmiri	2
Panjabi	2
Urdu	<u>100</u>
Total	<u>143</u>

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### Azad Kashmir

The territory of Jammu and Kashmir under Pakistan occupation, comprising the districts of Muzaffarabad, Poonch and Mirpur, is known as Azad (free) Kashmir or Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It includes most of the peaks but very little fertile land. The population of Azad Kashmir<sup>1</sup> in 1968 was estimated 1,300,000, and the land area about 4,600 sq.miles.

On 15 August 1947, the Indian Sub-Continent gained independence from the British Raj and was divided into two parts, i.e. India and Pakistan. There were about 584 princely states<sup>2</sup> scattered all over the Sub-Continent. The relations between the British crown and the Princely states were based upon treaties, the "paramount power" taking responsibility for their foreign affairs and defence, the Princes being guaranteed their rights of succession and autonomy in internal affairs. The Princely states were asked to join either India or Pakistan. Three Princes, however, those of Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Kashmir wanted to remain independent. Their subjects paid heavily for their rulers' policy.

Communal fighting had started at different places in Jammu and Kashmir. On 22 October, 1947 the peace in the state was completely shattered<sup>3</sup> by an invasion from Pakistan territory. Thousands of tribesmen from the tribal belt of the North-West Frontier Province of West Pakistan swept into the state, mainly along the

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1. Pakistan. Kashmir Affairs Division. Decade of progress. (1958-68). Islamabad, 1968. p.4.

2. J. Korbel. Danger in Kashmir. Princeton, 1954. p.46.

3. B.L. Sharma. Kashmir story. Bombay, 1967. p.1.

Rawalpindi-Srinagar road, putting towns and villages on the way to fire and sword. The small defending army of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was broken up and scattered. Faced with a grave threat to the life and honour of his people, the ruler as well as the leaders of the National Conference, the largest political party in the state of Jammu and Kashmir consisting mainly of Muslims, appealed to India for urgent help, which was rushed to the besieged people after the state acceded to India on 26 October 1947.

The raiders were driven back from Baramula to Uri, and Azad Kashmir came into existence.

On 24 October 1947, the Azad Kashmir government<sup>1</sup> was set up with its capital at Pulandri, a small town on the southern side of Poonch along the Jhelum river. The Government was supported by a strong volunteer army of 30,000 soldiers<sup>2</sup>. Later on this Government became an issue of dispute between the Government of India and the UNCIP. The Pakistan Government insisted that de-facto recognition must be given to the Azad Kashmir Government but the Indian Government objected and later it was known as 'Local Authority' by UNCIP (United Nations Commissions for India and Pakistan).

There are frequent changes-over of Presidents and Ministers in Azad Kashmir<sup>3</sup>. Muzaffarabad is the capital of the state, and a Kashmiri heads the semi-independent government of Azad Kashmir, which received its own constitution in 1970, and elected a twenty-five member legislative assembly<sup>4</sup>. The state has its own High Court.

1. Sardar M. Ibrahim Khan. The Kashmir Saga. Lahore, 1965. p.98.  
 2. Sardar M. Ibrahim Khan. Ibid. p.100.  
 3. L.f. Rushbrook Williams. The state of Pakistan. Rev. ed. London, 1966. p.94.  
 4. Robert Lang. The land and people of Pakistan. Rev. ed. Philadelphia, 1974. p.143.

Pakistan maintains over-all control over the state through its Kashmir Affairs Division. Economic and military aid is supplied by Pakistan.

### Administration

Formerly the affairs of Azad Kashmir and the Government<sup>1</sup> of Azad Kashmir were not run from Azad Kashmir. Presidents were appointed and Prime Ministers were elected but they had very little power. All the affairs of Azad Kashmir were conducted from Rawalpindi. When Bhutto's Government took over in 1971, they gradually transferred power to Azad Kashmiri people.

There are now districts and municipal councils on the lines of Pakistan. This system gives the people of Azad Kashmir a real say in the running of their local affairs, and justifies a real change in the title of the administration, which is now termed 'The Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir'. The Government of Pakistan accepts this position and uses its influence to see that the scales of office are held fairly even between the representatives of the Poonch-Mirpur-Muzaffarabad people and the representatives of Kashmiri exiles who belong to other areas.

There are visible signs of improvements<sup>2</sup> in the state. In addition to the extension of metalled roads, new pony tracks are linking outlying villages together. Continuous efforts are needed to keep the roads in good order, as the monsoon water carries away entire roads down thousands of feet into the river below.

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1. Z.A. Bhutto (Prime Minister). Visit to Azad Kashmir. Speeches at the merger of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League with Azad Kashmir Branch of Pakistan People's Party at Muzaffarabad and Banjosa. Sept. 16 & 17, 1976. Min. of Inf. & Broadcasting, 1976. p.20.  
 2. L.F. Rushbrook Williams. op. cit. p.91.

Drinking water is being piped from mountain springs to villages which have no water-supply of their own. Irrigation is being extended as far as possible, and seed farms for the supply of better fruit and vegetable seeds and cuttings are multiplying.

The area is deficient in food and will remain so until the new development schemes prove fruitful. Pakistan is helping the Azad Kashmir administration with food.

One powerful factor in sustaining the morale of the Kashmiri people, whether in Azad Kashmir or outside, has been the Azad Kashmir Radio. Ever since 1948, the staff of this organization has been broadcasting its patriotic programmes.

Pakistan is trying its level best to raise the social and economic conditions of the people of Azad Kashmir. Addressing a convention of legislators and political workers of Pakistan People's Party at Muzaffarabad (Azad Kashmir) on April 29, 1976, Prime Minister Bhutto<sup>1</sup> declared that the Federal Government's allocations to Azad Kashmir since he assumed office totalled Rs.32.70 crores (One crore is equivalent to ten million), as against Rs.13.70 crores spent by the Federal Government during the first, second and third five-year plans put together.

The money will be spent on the improvement of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, industries and social welfare, Azad Kashmir Mineral and Industrial Development Corporation, transport and communications,

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1. Pakistan. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Directorate of Research, Reference & Publications. Federal Government's contribution to the progress of Azad Kashmir. 1976. pp.3-9.



physical planning and housing, water and power, health, education etc.

An allocation of Rs.120 million was made for the development programme for Azad Kashmir during 1975-76 as compared to Rs.93,210 million during 1974-75. The maximum allocation was made to the development of Transport and Communications sector followed by Azad Kashmir Mineral and Industrial Development Corporation, Education, Health and Power.

### Forestry Economy

Outside the province of Kashmir there are no major industries. Azad Kashmir has well developed forest resources. Out of a total area of approximately 4,600 square miles, 1,600 square miles comprise forests. The Government have accorded top priority to the protection of forest wealth and enacted the 'Timber Protection Act, 1949'. The main produce of the forests is Deodar. For the improvement of forests, forest nurseries have been established. The entire development activities in the forestry sector are aimed towards the betterment of the common man, increasing the revenue of the Government, minimizing the chances of floods and a reduction of silling rate and towards increasing and maintaining the fertility of agricultural holdings.

### Agriculture

In the national reconstruction programme agriculture development in Azad Kashmir received the foremost

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1. Pakistan. Kashmir Affairs Division. Decade of Progress. 1958-68. Islamabad, 1968. p.1

attention of the Pakistan Government in the decade 1958-1968. Over 6,000 acres<sup>1</sup> of new land were brought under cultivation and food grain production was increased.

In the field of animal husbandry, the total live-stock population of Azad Kashmir in 1959 was 1,250,000 which went up to 1,500,000 in the 2nd and 3rd plan periods. Ten veterinary dispensaries have been established to control disease. 150 livestock and sheep-breeding centres have been established.

The Mangla Dam on the Jhelum river in the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir was inaugurated in 1967. This will help in irrigating six to eight million acres of land. The Mangla lake was also created for the development of Fisheries.

### Industries

The Pakistan Government arranged an Industrial Survey for the development of industry, both in the public and private sectors. In the public sector, the programme envisages setting up of a training-cum-production centre, a sales emporium, 15 artisans' workshops on a hire-purchase basis and two women's industrial schools. The most important scheme is the development of an industrial estate at Mirpur in the area of 84 acres.

In the industrial sector<sup>2</sup> some definite development has been achieved, and more than Rs.31.50 crore are expected to be spent on various projects during the current five-year plan. A textile mill is to be set up in Mirpur with the assistance of China. A wool scouring and spinning plant

1. Pakistan Kashmir Affairs Division. Decade of progress 1958-68. Islamabad, 1968. p.2.
2. Pakistan. Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. Directorate of Research, Reference & Publications. Federal Government's contribution to the progress of Azad Kashmir. Islamabad, 1976. pp.5-8.

is to be set up in Muzaffarabad. Match factories are being set up in Muzaffarabad and Mirpur. A vegetable ghee plant is being set up in Mirpur, and it will make Azad Kashmir self-sufficient in ghee production. All the above projects are near completion or have been completed already. A pulp manufacturing plant and a caustic-soda factory are also planned for Mirpur.

### Education

There were very few educational institutions<sup>1</sup> in 1947 and in 1968 there were about 542 boys' and 101 girls' primary schools. About 20 new primary schools are being established every year. In 1968 there were 91 middle schools and 37 high schools for boys; nine middle schools for girls and 3 girls' high schools. Three degree colleges and 2 intermediate colleges were established for boys and girls. Scholarships are being awarded to deserving students for higher studies in different technical and professional colleges in Pakistan.

Special attention is being paid to education in the field of science and technology<sup>2</sup>. The government of Pakistan is making arrangements to introduce science and commerce subjects in colleges where no such arrangements existed previously. Science teachers are to be provided to colleges in Koti, Bhimber and Pallandari. Girls' colleges are being opened in Muzaffarabad, Rawalakot and Mirpur.

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1. Pakistan. Kashmir Affairs Division. Decade of progress 1958-68. Islamabad, 1969. p.9.
  2. Pakistan. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Directorate of Research. Reference & Publications. Federal Government's contribution to the progress of Azad Kashmir. Islamabad, 1976. p.5.

## Health

Between 1958-68, 7 new hospitals and 68 dispensaries were established. Great emphasis is given to the eradication of malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy, which are three main diseases in the region.

It has been decided to set up a dispensary<sup>1</sup> at every five miles and veterinary care centres at the union council level. Steps have been taken to control and eradicate epidemics. The policy is for health facilities to reach far-flung settlements. Azad Kashmir's first para-medical school will be built at Mirpur with a cost of Rs.3.9 crore.

Village aid programmes have been launched for the development of agriculture. The programme has infused a new spirit of community development on the basis of voluntary labour and self help.

During 1947, when Azad Kashmir came into existence, there were few roads, and all the three districts of Azad Kashmir were cut off from each other. Between 1947-58, the Pakistan Government constructed an additional 348 miles<sup>2</sup> of different kinds of roads. A number of bridges have also been constructed.

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1. Pakistan. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Directorate of Research, Reference and Publications. Federal Government's contribution to the progress of Azad Kashmir. Islamabad, 1976. p.8.

2. Pakistan. Kashmir Affairs Division. Decade of progress. 1958-68. Islamabad, 1968. p.6.

### Archival material<sup>1</sup>

The following survey is an outline of the material available in Britain and India. It does not attempt to deal in detail, as that would be a separate and time-consuming exercise.

At present there is no guide available embracing Indian and British archives relating to the Jammu and Kashmir. The most comprehensive survey on South Asia is compiled by M.D. Wainwright and N. Matthews 'A guide to Western manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to South and South East Asia', London, 1965. It has useful information concerning Jammu and Kashmir. S.A. Khan's 'Sources for the history of British India in the 17th century', OUP, 1926, and the 'Cambridge

1. All the notes regarding the archives have been taken from the following references:-
  - i. Bhargava, K.D. Guide to the records in the National Archives of India, 1959.
  - ii. Foster, Sir William. Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858. London, 1919. Reprinted 1966.
  - iii. Ghosh, D.K. Source material for the history of Kashmir. Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol.9(1), 1969-70. pp.7-12.
  - iv. Hassnain, F.M. A note on the State Archive Department of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian Archives, July-December 1972. Vol.3(2). pp.1-5.
  - v. Lancaster, Joan C. The India Office Records. Archives. April 1970. Vol.9(43). pp.130-141.
  - vi. Low, D.A., J.C. Iltis and M.D. Wainwright. Government Archives in South Asia: a guide to national and state archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan. Cambridge, 1969. pp.263-267.
  - vii. Moir, Martin. Government Archives. IN South Asian Bibliography: a handbook and guide. Compiled by the South Asia Library Group. General Editor: J.D. Pearson. Sussex, 1979. pp.6-26.

South Asian Archive'; compiled and edited by M. Thatcher, Mansell, 1973 has also some information concerning Jammu and Kashmir.

The India Office records are the most important sources of official archives on the history of Kashmir during the British period in India. D.A. Low, J.C. Iltis and M.D. Wainwright compiled 'Government archives in South Asia, a guide to national and state archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan' Cambridge, 1969'. It gives useful information on Kashmir and includes the latest information available at the time of compilation.

The source material in English on the history during the British period is most extensive, but there is very little in Indian languages in India and U.K.

The India Office Records. London.

The archives of the East India Company (1600-1858), of the Board of Control (1784-1858), of the India Office (1858-1947) and of the Burma Office (1937-1948) are now in the charge of the India Office Records. The India Office Records is the successor of the Company's three record-keeping organisations dating from the late eighteenth century.

When India and Pakistan achieved independence in 1947, the India Office was dissolved, but its record department survived within the new Commonwealth Relations Office. In 1954 the Librarian of the

India Office Library became also Keeper of the Records in the renamed Indian Records Section. In 1960 an Archivist was appointed as Assistant Keeper to take detailed charge of the Records. In 1962, the section became the India Office Records.

Access to the records is governed by the Public Records Act of 1967, under which Public Records are made available for Public Inspection thirty years after their creation.

The following series are important for the study of Jammu and Kashmir. These are noted with the help of Mr. M. Moir (India Office Library and Records) from the 'Summary list of India Office Records with notes on main series included in categories A to Z'. It should be emphasized that material on Jammu and Kashmir is widely scattered through most of these series and needs to be located with the aid of the available indexes and registers.

- E. East India Company general correspondence 1602-1859.
- E/4 Correspondence with India 1703-1858. (1,112 volumes). Letters to and from East India Company 1709-c.1804.
- F. Board of Control records 1784-1856.
- F/4. Board's collection 1796-1858. (2,734 volumes). See especially collections to political despatches in India.

- H. Home Miscellaneous Series<sup>1</sup>, c.1600-c.1900  
(858 volumes).
- L/P&S. Political and Secret Department Records 1756-1950.  
(Approximately 12,678 volumes/files plus 325  
boxes). These materials, relating mainly to  
the Indian states, frontier and external affairs,  
originated in the Political and Secret Departments  
at East India House, the Board of Control and  
the India Office.
- L/P&S/3. Home correspondence 1807-1911. (497 volumes and  
20 boxes).
- L/P&S/4. Secret, Political and Foreign correspondence  
with India, 1784-1858.
- L/P&S/5. Secret correspondence with India, 1756-1874.  
(589 volumes and 11 boxes).
- L/P&S/6. Political correspondence with India, 1792-1874.  
(761 volumes).
- L/P&S/7. Political and Secret correspondence with India,  
1875-1911. (356 volumes and 71 boxes).
- L/P&S/8. Demi-official correspondence and Secretary's  
letters 1862-1912. (16 volumes and 1 box).
- L/P&S/10. Departmental papers: Political and Secret  
separate or subject files, 1902-1931.  
(1,315 volumes).

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1. Hill, Samuel Charles. Catalogue of the Home  
Miscellaneous series of the India Office Records.  
London, 1927. It is the most extensive and useful  
guide to the series.



- L/P&S/11. Departmental papers: Political and Secret annual files, 1912-1930. (309 volumes).
- L/P&S/13. Departmental papers; Political Internal/ Indian States files and collections, c.1931-1950. (Approximately 1,948 Volumes/ Files).
- L/P&S/18. Political and Secret Memoranda c.1840-1947. (Approximately 24 volumes, 11 boxes and 600 folders).
- L/P&S/20. Political and Secret Library c.1800-1947. (Approximately 150 boxes).
- P. Proceedings of the Government of India and of the Presidencies and Provinces 1702-1942. Especially Secret Series to 1833. India Secret, Political and Foreign Proceedings, 1833-1921.
- R/1. India: Crown Representatives Records, 1880-1947. (Approximately 7,199 files/volumes and 164 boxes).
- R/2. India: Residency Records c.1800-1947. Kashmir Residency c.1869-1947. (26 boxes). These records originally belonging to the offices of the Residents and Agents responsible for the relations with the Indian states.
- V. Official Publications. A select list of principal relevant items available in this collection is as follows. Some of these are also listed in the main bibliography.

1. Montgomerie, T.G. Routes in the Western Himalayas, Kashmir etc. 1874. (17) 1575.
2. Mason, K. Routes in the Western Himalayas, Kashmir etc. [Montgomerie revised] Vol. 1, 1922. 2nd ed. 1929. (43)4896.
3. Jammu and Kashmir State: list of ruling princes, chiefs and leading personages, 1925. Revised list 1939. (51) 4689..
4. Handbook of Jammu and Kashmir state. 2nd ed. 1945. (51) 12237.
5. Rules for observance by visitors and residents in the territories of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir 1916, 1917, 1921. (51) 3876. (51)4219.
6. Sapru, A.N. The building of the Jammu and Kashmir state - being the achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh (Punjab Government Record Office Monograph series no.12.) 1931. (55)4985.
7. Papers relating to Kashmir. C6072. Parl Papers. 1890 LIV 229.
8. Jammu and Kashmir Grievances and complaints Commission Report 1932 [with reports of inquiries into disturbances 1931]. V/26/272/8.
9. Administration Reports for Jammu and Kashmir 1911-24, 1932, 1934, 1936-39, 1940-45. V/10.

Note: The new references of nos. 1-2 above will be V/27/60 and of nos. 3-6, V/27/272 plus in each case an individual vol. no. which has yet to be assigned, so it will probably be better at present to use the list numbers quoted.

### Jammu and Kashmir Archives<sup>1</sup>

The Central Records Office at Jammu was established in 1928 and Sardar K.M. Panikkar was the first Director of the Records. At present the Department has three Repositories, at Srinagar, Jammu and Leh. The Repositories in Jammu and Srinagar are in old Secretariat buildings and the Repository at Leh is housed in Tehsil premises. Since March 1958 all the pre-1925 records have been open to Indian and foreign scholars.

Government records cover the period 1724-1960. The earliest document in the state archives is dated 1724, but the regular series of records begins from 1847. The records are mainly in Persian, Urdu and English in the form of files and registers. All the files in the three Repositories have been listed. The Persian, English and other vernacular records have been indexed, and twenty-two of these index volumes are published by the Archives Department, Srinagar. Most of the records have also been listed chronologically.

Reference libraries at Srinagar and Jammu contain 20,000 items. A map section at Srinagar contains 1,500 maps, and a considerable number of survey maps are housed at Jammu.

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1. Hassnain, F.M. op.cit.

1. Low, D.A. op.cit.

Holdings - Using Central Office Records numbering  
Archives

1. Individual documents in Turkish, Tibetan and other languages.
2. Persian records. 1724-1892
3. Kitab Navisi registers. 1847-1927
4. Old English records. 1868-1921
5. His Late Highness's confidential records. 1885-1925
6. State Department records. 1885-1942
7. Vernacular records. 1889-1921
8. Secretariat records. 1889-1960
9. Council proceedings. 1922-1926
10. Military records. 1922-1943
11. His Highness's orders. 1926-1947
12. Council and Cabinet orders. 1934-1960

Map section, Srinagar

1. Historical maps on cloth and hand-made paper.
2. Language maps.
3. Railway maps.
4. Physical and political maps.
5. Survey and boundary maps.
6. Mujamali (revenue) maps.
7. Map showing mines, minerals, canals etc.
8. Tourist maps.

Printed publications in the reference libraries,  
Srinagar and Jammu.

1. Administration reports. 1872-1960
2. Jammu and Kashmir gazettes. 1889-1960
3. Punjab gazettes. 1925-1934
4. Government of India gazettes. 1925-1955
5. Census of India 1891-1941
6. Jammu and Kashmir Military and  
Civil lists. 1893-1942
7. Jammu and Kashmir Budgets. 1893-1960
8. Combined civil lists for India 1941-1942
9. Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha  
debates. 1934-1960
10. Treaties, engagements and sanads. 1892-1931
11. Book collection on history, law  
and other subjects.

The following are the published indexes to the  
Jammu and Kashmir Secretariat records.

- Index of Persian records 1724 to 1892.
- Index of vernacular records 1889 to 1913
- Index of old English records 1868 to 1912.
- General Department period group 1922 to 1940.
- Chief of the Staff, Jammu and Kashmir State  
Forces 1923 to 1942.
- General Staff Officer 1913 to 1941.
- Adjutant Quarter General 1902 to 1942.

Adjutant-General's indexed records 1891 to 1925.

Commander-in-Chief's records 1891 to 1939.

Army Council records 1925 to 1929.

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Publicity Department records 1916 to 1938.

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Commands of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur 1932 to 1943.

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General Department, Chief Secretariat 1922 to 1940.

Political Department records 1940 to 1950.

Irrigation Department records.

Public Works Department records.

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

The National Archives of India, formerly known as the Imperial Record Department, came into existence in 1891, and Prof. G.W. Forrest was appointed as the first Officer-in-Charge of the records. The Imperial Record Department was under the administrative control of the Home Department until 1910, when it was transferred under the control of the newly created department of Education. The designation of the Officer-in-Charge of records was subsequently changed to Keeper of Records of the Government of India. With the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, it was felt necessary to transfer the official records also to the new headquarters. In 1947, when India got independence, the name of the Imperial Record Office was changed to National Archives of India, and

the post of the former Keeper of Records was redesignated as the Director of Archives.

### Rules of Access

In general, records up to 1945 relating to all Ministries except the Ministry of External Affairs are open for consultation by bona fide research students. Home Affairs records relating to Kashmir are not, however, open for the period after 31 December 1913, unless special permission has been secured. Records of the Ministry of External Affairs which are over 30 years old are open to inspection except those of a later date than 31 December 1913 which may relate to India's relation with areas which now comprise Pakistan, Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet, China, Sikkim, Bhutan and North East Frontier Agency. However, prior permission from the Ministry of External Affairs can sometimes be obtained to consult some of this later material. Anyone wishing to use the Archives must produce a recommendation from an appropriate authority.

Records available at the National Archives are the Foreign Department papers which have been variously described as Secret, Political, Frontier, General and Miscellaneous, Maps, Notes etc. They are called Keep-withs or K.Ws. These are important for research in the modern history of Kashmir. Secret E series of the Foreign Department Proceedings, which were never sent to the Home Government except occasionally as enclosures to the Governor-General's despatches, are also important.

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Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal. See Journal of the  
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Ardagh, Major-General Sir John Charles. Papers of Sir John Ardagh are with the papers of Sir Arthur Godley, 1st. Baron Kilbracken of Killegar (1847-1932) as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India from 1883 to 1909. Mss. Eur. F.102.

Baring, Thomas George, 1st. Earl of Northbrook. Northbrook papers; correspondence of the 1st. Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy of India, 1873-76. Mss. Eur. C.144.

Bowring, Lewin Bentham. Lewin Bentham Bowring portfolios. Three volumes containing letters, grants, prints, photographs, illustrations, maps, seals, genealogical trees and histories relating to each of the princely states of India. 3 vols. and index. Mss. Eur. G.38.

Bruce, James. 8th Earl of Elgin and 12th Earl of Kincordine. Elgin collection, consisting of the papers of James Bruce (1811-1963) as Viceroy and Governor-General of India from 1862-1863. Mss. Eur. F.83.

Cameron, William L.S.L. Papers 1887-1936, of William L.S.L. Cameron (1854-1938), Indian Service of Engineers, Public Works Department, Bombay, 1877-1911, comprising a Kashmir diary, reports and correspondence about part of the Bombay and Sukkur Barrage scheme, and other papers. 2 boxes. Mss. Eur. D.853.

Campbell, George Douglas, 8th Duke of Argyll (1823-1900). Argyll papers: correspondence of the 8th Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, 1869-1874. Reel.No.423324247.

Carter, Sgt.-Major George. Papers. These cover the period from 1839 to 1961, and give long accounts of the two Anglo-Sikh wars in which Gulab Singh was involved. Mss. Eur.E.262.

Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne, 3rd Marquis of Salisbury (1830-1903). Salisbury papers of 3rd. Marquis of Salisbury as Secretary of State for India from July 1866 to March 1867, and from February 1874 to April 1878. Reel No.805-822.

Cross, Richard Assheton, 1st. Viscount. Cross papers: correspondence of 1st. Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, 1886-1892. Mss. Eur. E.243.

Curzon, George Nathaniel Curzon. Correspondence and papers of George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquis Curzon of Kedleston (1882-1925). The collection consists of Lord Curzon's papers relating to India and falls into three parts: (1) From leaving Oxford to becoming Viceroy 1882-1899; (2) As Viceroy 1899-1905; (3) After Viceroy 1905-1921. Mss. Eur. F.111.

Cust, R.N. Papers written by Amir Chand and various Indian Rajas 1838-1890 to R.N. Cust. Papers give interesting eye-witness accounts of the First Anglo-Sikh War, Gulab Singh etc. Mss. Eur. C.185.

Hope, Victor Alexander John, 2nd Marquis of Linlithgow (1887-1952). Correspondence and papers. Mss. Eur.F.125.

Howell, Sir Evelyn Berkeley. Correspondence and papers of Sir Evelyn Berkeley Howell (1877-1971), Indian Civil Service 1900-1933, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India 1930-1932. Mss. Eur. D.681.

Hume, Andrew Parke. Papers, dated 1927-1968, of Andrew Parke Hume (1904-1965), I.C.S. 1927-1947, comprising weekly letters from Hume to his parents in Norfolk, diaries, tour diaries and newspaper cuttings on Kashmir dispute, 1947. Mss. Eur. D.724.

Lawrence, Sir Henry Montgomery. Henry Lawrence papers. Henry Lawrence collection, papers, dating from 1830 to 1857, of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence and his wife Honoria Lawrence. Mss. Eur. F.85.

Lawrence, Sir Henry Montgomery. Three letters, one from Henry Lawrence (1806-1857) to his son Harry written after Lady Lawrence's death and headed 16th January (probably 1854), also a letter from Honoria,

daughter of Henry Lawrence, to her brother Harry, and the other a copy of a draft reply to Gulab Singh, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, on his offer of a Lakh of Rupees to the Lawrence Royal Military Asylum, Sanawar. Mss.Eur.D.646.

Lawrence John, Ist. Baron. John Lawrence collection papers, dated 1841-79, of the Ist Baron Lawrence, Viceroy 1864-1869. 78 volumes. Mss. Eur. F.90.

Lee-Warner, Sir William. Lee-Warner papers. Papers of Sir William Lee-Warner, Indian Civil Service 1809-1895, Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office (1895-1903). Mss. Eur. F.92.

Lyall, Sir Alfred. Lyall collection papers, dated 1842-1915, of Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces 1882-1887, and member of the Council of India 1885-1903; and of his brother Sir James Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab 1887-1892. Mss. Eur. F.132.

Moorsom, William Robert. Papers dated 1834-1917, of W.R.Moorsom (1834-1858), H.M. 52nd Light Infantry also of his brother, Lt. Col. Henry Martin Moorsom (1839-1921), Rifle Brigade. Mss. Eur. E.299.

Pearse, General George G. Journal. In this Journal he refers to the role of many Sikh leaders prominent during the war and makes an estimate of the character of Gulab Singh. Mss. Eur. B.115.

Petty-Fitzmaurice, Henry Charles Keith, 5th Marquis of Lansdowne. Lansdowne papers: correspondence and papers of the 5th Marquis of Lansdowne, Viceroy of India, Dec. 1888 to Jan. 1894. Mss. Eur. D.558.

Richards, Sir Henry Erle. Correspondence and papers of Sir Henry Erle Richards (1861-1922), as Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council from 1904 to 1909. Mss. Eur.F.122.

Temple, Sir Richard. Papers of Sir Richard Temple, (Indian Administrator and member of the British Parliament), (1826-1902). Mss. Eur. F.86.

Tottenham, John L. Diaries, letters, and plans, dated 1837-1842, part composed during the period of the 1st Afghan War by John L. Tottenham, together with his letters from Kashmir, dated 1846, and an account of the action fought at Sussiah, 5 July 1857. Mss. Eur. D.456.

Lawrence, Sir Walter Roper. Walter Lawrence collection papers dated 1874-1936, of Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, 1st Baronet, Private Secretary to the Viceroy 1898-1903, Member of the Council of India 1907-1909. 6 volumes, 20 boxes, 1 portfolio. Mss. Eur. F.143.

Wood, Sir Charles. Correspondence of Sir Charles Wood, 1st Viscount Halifax, as President of the Board of Control from 1852-1855, and as Secretary of State for India 1859-1866. Mss. Eur. F.78.

Yule, H. Notes on the Kasia hills and people by Lt. H. Yule, Bengal Engineers. Mss. Eur. D.517.

London - Public Record Office.

Ardagh, Sir John Charles. Ardagh papers. Correspondence and papers of Sir John Ardagh, Private Secretary to Lords Landsdowne and Elgin, 1888-1894. PRO.30/40.

MANUSCRIPTS (PERSIAN) ARRANGED BY AUTHOR

Aba Rafi Abil Kāsīm Muḥammad Aslam Mun'imī, son of Muḥammad A'zam Kul surnamed Mustaghni. No title, and begins ... Fatah 'anwān tawārīkh abdāh wakhtarah. ... . It is a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the close of the 12th century Hijrah. According to the preface, it is an abridgement of the Wākiāt-i Kashmīr. Written by different hands about A.D.1850. Ff.91. Size 11" x 7". British Library. Or.1632.

'Abdul Qādir Khān bin Qāzī al-Qazāt Maulvī, Jaisī. Hishmat-i Kashmīr. An historical account of Kashmir and some neighbouring countries. The present work is based upon an earlier account of Kashmir, written about A.H.1188 (A.D. 1774) by Muḥammad Badī'ūd-Dīn Abul-Qāsim Aslam poetically surnamed Mughni. A.D.1850. Ff.52-72. Nastalik. Size 9" x 4". British Library. Or.1748(5).

Bahāristān-i Shāhī. Another Persian history of Kashmir based on Rājatarangini, by an anonymous author, brought down to the eighth year of Jahangir's reign. It has no introduction. It ends on fol.213a. Ff.214-221: a poetical fragment is added, a peculiar kind of didactic poem. Chronogram at the end A.D.1614. Ff.221,II,16. Nastalik. Size 9" x 5". India Office Library. No. 943.

Bahāristān-i Shāhī. The history of Kashmir from the earliest times to A.H. 1023. The author, whose name is not given, appears to have been a descendant of Kashmiri Sayyid, Shāh 'Abul Ma'ālī, to whom he gives a prominent place in the later period of his history. The work

begins without any preface; after a short account of the Hindu period, it enters upon the Muhammadan period, which occupies the rest of the volume. The title of this Ms. is found in some verses at the end, which contains also the date of completion, A.H.1023 (A.D.1614).

**Ff.180. Nastalik. Size 9" x 5". 18th century.**

**British Library. Add.16,706.**

**Bīrbal Kachrū. Tavārīkh-i Kashmīr.** A history of Kashmir from antiquity to A.D. 1846. Based on Kalhana's Rajatarangini.— Manuscript in red leather binding with decorative stamps. Dated in Colophon **Samvat 1945 (A.D.1888). Ff.248. Nastalik. SOAS. Ms.46454.**

**Daud Mishkatī Kashmīrī. Asrār-ul-abrār or Asrār-ul-fuqra.** Life and sketches of Muhammadan saints who flourished in Kashmir from the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1374-1416) up to the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586. The author was a contemporary of Sultan Yusuf Shah (1579-1586). (Entry taken from **D.N. Marshall. Mughals in India: a bibliographical survey, 1967. Mss. in Jammu and Kashmir Durbar Library.**)

**Firishta's history of India(Persian), with a translation of the beginning of the section on Kashmir by A.Ramsay. Late 18th century. National Library of Scotland,Edinburgh. Ms.3182.**

**Ganesh Dās Badhrah. Chār bāghī Panjāb.** This contains an extensive history of the Panjab from antiquity to 1849. It includes most valuable information on Sikh-Dogra relations and on Gulab Singh's part in the First Anglo-Sikh War. Badhrah once worked as Qanungo (Revenue collector) at Gujarat and after 1846 accepted service under Gulab Singh in the province

of Jammu. Dated by Shāh Muhammad, the 4th of August, 1854.

**Ff.427. Nastalik. Size 8"x5". India Office Library.No.3620.**

Ganesh Dās Badhrah. Chirāgh-i Panjāb. This is an abridged version of 'Chār bāgh-i Panjāb', and deals with Sikh history up to 1846, and also contains long references to events at Gujarat and Sialkot, and in Jammu and Kashmir. It was considered such a beautiful work of calligraphy that it was presented to Henry Lawrence and later displayed at the Imperial Exhibition in Paris. Dated by Khudabakhsh, the bowmaker at Lahaur, the 28th Ramadan, A.D. 1270 (A.D. 1854, not 1954 as is stated in the colophon.) **Ff.111,II.11; clear Nastalik; neatly illuminated frontispiece; each line in the first two pages framed in by a small gilt border; size 9x6". India Office Library. No.3619.**

Ganesh Dās Badhrah. Rāj darshanī. This is a voluminous history of the Rajas of Jammu from the earliest times to 1847. It sheds important light on the ancestors of Gulab Singh and also provides a broad narrative of the service of the three Jammu brothers under the Sikhs. A copy of this manuscript is also available at the India Office Library (No.3181) under the title 'Tawārīkh -i Rājghān-i Jammu'. **About A.D. 1848. Ff.313. Nastalik. Size 7"x4". British Library. Or.1634.**

Ganesh Dās Badhrah. Tawārīkh-i Rājagān-i Jammu. A portion of the rare chronicle of the Rajas of Jammu. A complete copy is in the British Library (Or.1634). It is incomplete and incorrectly written. Copied by Muḥammad 'Alī. No date given. **Ff. 144,11,15; illuminated frontispiece on Fol.1a; Nastalik. Size 9"x6". India Office Library No.3181.**



Ganeshī Lāl. Siyāhat-e Kashmīr. A detailed record of a visit from Ludhiana to Srinagar and back by Charles and Arthur Hardinge and several other British officials of the East India Company in the spring of 1846. There is some information on the political, social, and economic conditions of the region. (Source Bawa S.Singh. **The Jammu Fox.1974.**) Available in Panjab State Archives, Patiala

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr - from the earliest times to its conquest by Akbar. The author says in the preface that he commenced this work A.H. 1027 (A.D.1617) in the 12th year of Jahangir's reign. The author was also known as Chaghatai and Rāīs ul-Mulk; these titles were bestowed upon him by the Emperor Jahangir. Approximately middle of 17th century. **Ff.224. Nastalik. Size 10" x6". 12 lines to a page. British Library. Add.8906.**

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. A history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the twelfth year of the emperor Jahangir's reign. Completed about A.D. 1621. It is in two parts: ff.1-237b on the history of Kashmir, and ff. 238a-387, containing general histories of all the contemporary dynasties in different parts of Iran, Turan etc. Dated A.H.1215 (A.D. 1800). **Ff.387,11,13. Nastalik. Size 13"x8". India Office Library No.1100.**

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. A history of Kashmir based on the Rajatarangini, and completed under Jahangir, A.H. 1030 (A.D.1621). This copy contains the history of Kashmir only. Dated the 20th of Rabi-alawwal, A.H.1046 (A.D.1636).

Ff.188, II. 10; Nastalik; a little worm-eaten;  
size 6"x4". India Office Library. No.3517.

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr.  
A Persian history of Kashmir. Copyist Muhammad Shu'aib.  
13 lines. Rubrications. The first 12 folios have notes  
of variant readings etc., by Sir T.W. Arnold.  
A.H. 1320. (A.D.1902). SOAS. Ms. 42930a.

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr.  
A Persian history of Kashmir. Dated in colophon  
A.H. 1317, but ff. 34-37 are older. A.H.1317, A.D.1899,  
Ff.150. 9"x6". SOAS. Ms. 44092.

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr.  
A Persian history of Kashmir. Manuscript in red  
leather cover with blind-tooled borders. Colophon  
10 Safar, A.H.1313 (A.D.1895). Ff.294. 10"x9". SOAS. Ms. 46443.

Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr.  
A Persian history of Kashmir. This copy omits the  
first few folios and begins at a point corresponding  
to f.3, line 13 of SOAS. Ms. 42930a. It is a different  
recension from 42930a. (Second title on this page).  
13 lines. Rubrications. The first half is annotated  
by Sir T.W. Arnold. A.H.1320, (A.D.1902). Ff.264. 13"x8".  
SOAS. Ms. 42930b.

History of Kashmir. This manuscript has no  
author and title. It begins Hamd ān keh 'alam jaud bast  
kurdash chunānkah baud kashaud. Although written as a  
continuous text, it contains two distinct works. The  
first part, foll.10b-78, relates to the Hindu

period, and the latter part, foll.78b-254a, relates to the Muhammadan period. Dated Jumda II, A.H. 1264 (A.D.1848). Ff.260. Nastalik. Size 9"x5". British Library. Or.1799.

Husayn Kashmīrī Husayn. Hidāyat al'amā.

A Sufi treatise referring to mediaeval authorities and the famous saints of Kashmir. (Source: Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian ms. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by W.Ivanow and rev. and ed. by M.Hidayat Hosain. Calcutta, 1939.)

Kalhana. Rājatarāṅgiṇī. An incomplete copy of the Rajatarangini. The translator's name is not mentioned in this fragment, but he is undoubtedly the same Mulla Shah Muhammad who translated the work from the Sanskrit original by order of Akbar in A.D. 1590, and whose version was revised by Badauni in A.D. 1591. 17 th cent.? Ff.49a 192b, II, 17; Nastalik; size 12"x8". India Office Library. No. 2442

Kalhana. Rājatarāṅkī. Rājatarāṅgiṇī translated from Sanskrit into Persian, by Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shahabad and re-written in an easy style A.H. 999 (A.D.1590) by Abū-ul-Qadir Badauni. 18th century. Ff.131. Written in cursive Nastalik and Shikastah. Size 11"x8". British Library. Add.24,032.

Lub al-Tawārīkh. A history of Kashmir from the earliest times to A.H. 1262, A.D.1845. The author, whose name does not appear, states in a short preamble that he had compiled this work from the most approved histories, ancient and modern, adding a record of his own time. It consists of two parts. Part

one is about the Hindu Rajas, Sultans, Chaks, Chaghatā'is, the Afghan Kings or Durranis, from A.H.1166 to 1234, the Sikhs, from A.H. 1234 to 1262, and Gulab Singh etc. The second part contains a detailed account of the geography, administration, revenue, produce, and curiosities of Kashmir and the neighbouring districts. A.H. 1263 (A.D.1846). Ff.123. Nastalik. Size 10½"x6½". British Library. Or.1633.

Mehtāb Singh. Tawārīkh-i mulk-i Hazārā. This is a history of Hazara between the years 1819 and 1849. The author gives detailed information of Gulab Singh's brief rule over Hazara during 1846 and 1847, with special reference to the activities of Jawala Sahai in that province. He also provides an eye-witness account of the developments at Hazara before and during the Second Anglo-Sikh War. Dated A.D.1854. Ff.120,11,10-15. Nastalik. Size 10"x7". India Office Library. No.3229.

Mīr 'Izzat Ullah, Saiyyad. Safar-nāma-i 'Izzat Ullah. Diary of a journey from Attock to Bukhara via Kashmir, Tibet, Yarkand, Kashghar, Kohan in Farghana and Samarkand, and back via Balkh, Khullam, Kabul, Bamiyan and Peshawar to Attock, undertaken by Mir Izat Ullah in A.D. 1812-1813 on behalf of William Moorcroft. Mir Izzat Ullah left Delhi on 20 April 1812 and returned in 1813.

This has been partly translated by H.H.Wilson in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review, Vols. III and IV, 1825. Compiled also in 'Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, by W. Moorcroft. A complete translation of these travels into English was

published in Calcutta, 1872, by Captain Henderson,  
 'Travels in Central Asia, by Mir Izzat Oolah.' No date of Ms.  
 Presented by H.Wood, Esq., late Accountant General,  
 Bengal; received from Secretary, July 18, 1929. Ff.178,  
 11,14-17.; Shikasta; size 11"x7". India Office Library. No.2884.

Muhammad Āzam, son of Khair uz-Zaman  
Khān, Kashmīrī Mujadidī. Lub al-tawārikh. A  
 short compendium of the history of Kashmir from the  
 Deluge to A.H. 1166 (A.D.1753), in the reign of  
 Ahmadshāh Durrani, by Khwāja Muhammad Āzam, who is  
 no doubt identical with the author of the larger and  
 more detailed work on Kashmir styled Wāqi'āt Kashmīr  
 and completed A.H. 1160 (A.D.1747). The arrangement in  
 both is the same, and the various sections in this  
 manuscript are on a much smaller scale. It begins  
 with a short description; then follow on fol.4b the  
 Hindu Rajas, on fol.24a the Muslim rulers, on fol.37b  
 the Moghul emperors from Akbar to Muhammad Shah, and  
 on fol.55a Ahmadshah Durrani. The little work concludes  
 with the chapter on the curiosities of Kashmir, on fol.56a.  
 No date. ff.62, II.10; large and clear Nastalik;  
 size 8"x6". India Office Library. No.3526.

Muhammad Āzam, son of Khair uz-Zaman Khān.  
Wāqi'āt-i Kashmīr. A history of Kashmir from the  
 earliest times to A.H. 1160 (A.D.1747). The author was  
 a Kashmirian by birth. He stated in the preface that  
 the original history of Kashmir, the work of some  
 Hindu chroniclers, had been translated and brought down  
 to their own times by several Muslim writers, as

Mullā Husain Karī, Haidar Malik Chadvarah and some later authors like Nārāyan Kaul had written a very short compendium of the same history. Finding that those works did not contain full notices of the holy men of Kashmir, nor give an account of the events/times, it occurred to him to supply that deficiency by the present work, in which he added to the political history notices of the Sufis and Ulama of each period, and also of the poets and elegant writers who had flourished in more recent times.

He commenced it in A.H. 1148, but did not complete it till A.H. 1160. He gives a bibliography of works he used in the compilation of this work. ff.315;9"x4". Nastalik, 18th century. British Library. Or.26,282.

Muhammad Āzam, son of Khair-uz-Zamān Khān. Wāqi'āt-i Kashmīr. Persian history of Kashmir, from the oldest times to A.D.1747. The author commenced this work in A.D. 1735, and dedicated it to the emperor Muhammad Shāh. The chief aim of the writer was to supply biographical notices and extracts from the writings of the principal Shaikhs, 'Ulamās and poets of Kashmir, which were entirely wanting in works previously written on Kashmir, being more or less mere translations from Rajatarangini. Dated the 14th June 1802. Safar, A.H. 1217. ff.195,II.12-17; very unequally written, both in Nastalik and Shikasta; size 10"x8". India Office Library. No.1429.

Mullā Taufīk Kashmīrī. Aḥwāl-i Kashmīr. A poetical description of the valley of Kashmir and of

the political events that led to the subjugation of the country under the emperor Akbar. This mathawī was composed in the reign of Alamgīr, who is eulogized in the last chapter, on fol.70b; the accession of Jahangir and his two visits to Kashmir are described on fol.51a. Dated A.H. 1267 (A.D.1851). Ff.73. Nastalik; illuminated. Size 8"x5". India Office Library. No. 3616.

Nārāyan Kaul, Ājiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. History of Kashmir, from the earliest times to A.H.1122. The author, a Kashmirian by birth, had long made himself familiar with the annals of his native country, and had often been urged by Kashmirian nobles to write its history. The author then procured the translation made of them by Haidar Malik, ibn Hasan Malik, which was too diffused for the general taste, and after comparing it with the Sanskrit original and eliminating some exaggerated and incredible statements, gave its substance in a condensed form in the present abridgment. Contents: Name and origin of Kashmir, Kashmir(kings) Rajas, Muhammadan Kings, conquest of Kasim Khan, arrival of Akbar, Subahdars (governors) from the conquest to A.H. 1122. Khātimah(end). Topography and curiosities of Kashmir. Dated Zulhijjah, A.H.1127(A.D.1715). Ff.125. Nastalik. Size 7"x4". British Library. Add. 11,631.

Nārāyan Kaul, Ājiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. Another Persian copy of Narayan Kaul's history of Kashmir. Dated the 24th of Jumādā II, A.H.1263 (A.D.1847). Ff.163, II.10; very large and distinct Nastalik; size, 8"x6". India Office Library. No. 2490.

Nārāyan Kaul, 'Ajiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. Another Persian history of Kashmir based on Rajatarangini. Composed in A.D.1710. Ff.123. II.15; Nastalik; size 8"x6". India Office Library. No.2491.

Nārāyan Kaul, 'Ajiz. Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. Another Persian copy of the same. Author's name appears on ff.5a,1,3, and 6a,1,3. Dated by Makhadūm Sharīf A.D. 1802, at Srīngapatam. Ff.255,II,11; large Nastalik. Size 8"x6". India Office Library. No.3523.

Nasīb, Bābā or Mullā, Kashmīrī. Tazkira-i mashaikh-i Kashmīr. A rare work dealing with the Muhammadan saints of Kashmir who flourished in VIII-X c/ XIV-XVI c. Besides a study of Sufism in Kashmir, it provides information regarding life in mediaeval India and especially concerning local folk-lore. It is also known as Rishī-nāmah. Probably copied in the eleventh century of the Hijrah, A.D.17th century. Ff.428. Edinburgh University Library. No.245.

Nizām al-Dīn. Tabakāt-i Akbar Shāhī or Tārīkh-i Kashmīr. A history of the Kashmir from the time of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī to the end of the 18th century. 19th century. Ff.94. 12"x8". British Library. Or.9,756.

Rafī al-Dīn Ahmad, Ghāfil. Navādar al-Akhhār. A history of Kashmir, from the earliest times to the conquest of Akbar. The author says in the preface that Kalhan Pandit, who had written his Razah Tarang according to the false creed of the idolaters, and in a spirit opposed to the true faith of Muhammad,



had been hitherto followed by ancient and modern historians. He determined, however, to disregard the statements of unbelievers, and to compile from the works of his predecessors a true and compendious account of the Muslim Kings of Kashmir. He stated at the end that he completed the work in A.H.1136./ A.D. 1723. Contents: Origin of Kashmir curiously connected with the legenday Sulaiman, and account of the early Rajas, fol.4a. Muslim Kings, fol.21b, Akbar's conquest, fol.100a, Beauties of Kashmir, fol.126b. The historical portion concludes with the return of Akbar to Agrah, and the death of Yaqub Khan Chak. Dated April A.D.1820. Ff.131. Nastalik. Size 5"x6". British Library. Add.24,029.

Saif-ud-Dīn, Mirzā. Secret despatches. The author compiled these extensive reports at Srinagar for the British government between 1846-1859 and sent them periodically to the British authorities at Lahore during the reigns of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh. The British after studying their copies destroyed them, and Saif-ud-Din kept the duplicates in the hollow of a wall in his house, where they remained until their discovery in 1960 by Mirza Kemal-ud-Din, a descendent. This manuscript comprises twelve volumes and consists of over 1700 folios. Size 15"x9". Persian Shikasta. Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

Saiyyid Saif al-Dīn Kashmīrī. Majmū'ah tasnīfāt Akhund Saiyyid Saif Aldīn Kashmīrī. The complete poetical and prose works of a Kashmiri Persian poet,

Mīr Saif Aldīn Akhund, with the takhallus(poetic name) Saif, who lived at the time of writing this collection (i.e. A.H. 1270, A.D.1854), in Ludhiana. The poems are partly in Persian and partly in modern Kashmirian dialect, considerably mixed with Persian. The author states at the end of the work that he wrote it at the request of the Dy. Commissioner. Gives a complete index. The copy was received from Dr. Royle, July, 1856. Ff.93, II.12-13, the first ten leaves in diagonal lines; large Nastalik; size 10"x6". India Office Library.No.3226.

Suraj Bhān Kashmīrī. Guzāshatagi tarāwan guzād. Vocabulary of Kashmiri, Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi and Nepali etc. Ff.130; Nastalik; size 11"x8". India Office Library. No.2695.

#### MANUSCRIPTS (URDU)

Kirpā Rām. Gulzār-i Kashmir. A descriptive history of Kashmir. 1913. Ff.516. 30 cms. National Archives, New Delhi.

# BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND CATALOGUES

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GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION; ARRANGED  
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General

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